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A NEW HISTORY OF THE EAST-INDIES, ANCIENT and MODERN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Containing the CHOROGRAPHY, NATURAL HISTORY, RELIGION, GOVERNMENT, MANNERS and CUSTOMS, REVOLUTIONS, &c. of thoſe COUNTRIES.

VOL. II.

Containing an ESSAY towards a HISTORY of the COMMERCE of the ſeveral NATIONS of EUROPE to the EAST-INDIES.

SHEWING

The RISE, PROGRESS, and PRESENT STATE of that TRAFFIC; as carried on by the ENGLISH, DUTCH, FRENCH, PORTUGUEZE, SWEDES, and DANES; from the firſt Diſcovery of a new Route to the INDIES, round the CAPE of GOOD-HOPE, to the preſent Time.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

LONDON:
Printed for R. and J. DODSLEY in Pall-mall.
M.DCC.LVII.


BRITISH MUSEUM

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Scale to the Plan

100 200 300 400 500 Feet

A MAP of the EAST INDIES

Drawn from the Observations of the Royal Academy of Sciences and the Memoirs of the India Company

Scales

Cosses or Lieques of Indostan

50 100 200 300 400

Sea Lieques of England & France

45 60 90 120 150

PERSIA

BENGAL

CARNATE

MALABAR

CORAMANDEL

MALDIVES I.

Ceylon I

Andaman Islands

Nicobar I

SIAM

CAMBAYA

CHAMPA

COCHINCHINA

TUNQUIN

LAOS

PEGU

ARACAN

ASEM

GULF OF BENGAL

GULF OF SIAM

Equator or Equinoctial Line

SUNDA ISLANDS

BORNEO

CELEBES

ISLE OF JAVA

Longitude East from Ferro

T. Kitchin Sculp



A NEW HISTORY OF THE EAST-INDIES.

PART III.

The Commerce of the Europeans *to the* East-Indies.

CHAP. I.

Of the French *Trade.*

THE immenſe riches which the Portugueze, Engliſh, and Dutch had drawn from the Eaſt-Indies, invited the French to follow them into thoſe remote and unknown countries, in order to partake of the advantages which commerce was there productive

of. But the profits were ſo indifferent during the firſt ſixty years, that thoſe who had undertaken it met with their ruin inſtead of that fortune they had expected. It was in vain that Francis I. by his declarations of the years 1537 and 1543, exhorted his ſubjects to undertake theſe long voyages; it was in vain that Henry III. renewed thoſe invitations to merchants, by an edict of December 15, 1578; theſe exhortations produced no effect, It was neceſſary that the ſtate ſhould advance a part of the neceſſary funds for thoſe enterprizes, as in Portugal, England, and Holland. But either the neceſſity hereof was not known, or the civil wars which diſſipated the little revenue that came into the treaſury, did not permit it. However, the trade of the Eaſt-Indies could never be on a ſolid foundation, while the king himſelf was not in the number of thoſe concerned.

Gerard Le Roy, of the Flemiſh nation, who had made ſome voyages to the Eaſt in Dutch veſſels, came to France, and offered his ſervice in quality of a pilot, to a company which was then forming, with deſign to attempt the India trade. This project had been formed under Henry IV. who accepted the propoſals made to him almoſt without any alterations or reſtrictions. By his arret of the firſt of June 1604, "he grants to Gerard and his partners who ſhould diſburſe the expences and neceſſary advances for a voyage to the Eaſt, a harbour, exemptions, privileges, and two pieces of artillery. He permits them by the fourth article, to enter into an aſſociation among

among themſelves, into which they ſhould be oblig'd, from the preſent time, and until ſix months after their return to France from their ſaid firſt voyage, to receive all Frenchmen inclinable to enter into it, on each of them advancing the ſum of 3000 livres and upwards; and that after the ſaid ſix months, none ſhould be admitted unleſs they thought fit; and that his ſaid majeſty ſhould expreſsly prohibit all his ſubjects, except themſelves and their partners, to go to the ſaid Eaſt-Indies, during the term of fifteen ſucceſſive years, reckoning from the day of their departure for their ſaid firſt voyage, under the penalty of confiſcation of ſhip and cargo."

The fifth and laſt article bears, "That all chevaliers, lords, barons, gentlemen, officers, and other Frenchmen, may enter into the ſaid company without derogating from, or any way prejudicing, their dignities, qualities, and privileges; on account of the great utility and advantages which may accrue to his majeſty and the whole ſtate, by means of ſo worthy and honourable an enterprize."

This was the firſt company formed in France to attempt the eaſtern trade; but we do not find it had any conſequences; it was diſſolved either by the diſagreement among the partners, or the difficulty of finding funds.

The ſame Gerard, who to appearance had none but his experience in navigation, made a new attempt under Lewis XIII. with the ſieur Godefroy treaſurer of Limoges, and ſome others. The king by letters patent bearing date the 2d of

March, 1611, granted them for twelve years all the privileges they required.

Four years having elapſed without their putting to ſea, two merchants of Rouen, Muiſſon and Canis, petitioned the king for a conveyance to their privileges, offering at the ſame time to fit out for the current year 1615, veſſels freighted in a proper manner to begin the trade. The company having repreſented that their delays were occaſioned by unforeſeen accidents, and that they had not abated of their ardour to execute their undertaking; the king thought fit, in order to increaſe their funds, to aſſociate the Rouen merchants with them, and to form both into one company. This union was ordained by letters patent of the 2d of July, 1615, and regiſtered in parliament the 2d of September following. The privileges are nearly the ſame with thoſe granted by Henry IV. to the perſons who had made the firſt propoſals to him, with ſome variations not very eſſential.

There is no proof that theſe navigators ever went as far as the Eaſt-Indies; but it is certain (*i*) that they made the conqueſt of Madagaſcar and ſome other neighbouring iſlands, for ſince then the French have poſſeſſed them by that title.

This appears by a new company wherein twenty-four proprietors were concerned, to whom cardinal Richelieu, as ſuperintendant of the trade and navigation of France, granted on the 24th of June 1642, the excluſive privilege of ſettling colonies

(*i*) Francheville, hiſt. of the India company, p. 23, & ſeq.

lonies in theſe iſlands, and taking poſſeſſion of them in the name of Lewis XIII. That prince dying in the month of May the next year, the council of regency under Lewis XIV. confirmed on the 20th of September the ſame year, 1643, what had been before done by Richelieu.

During the twenty years that company ſubſiſted, they commonly ſent a ſhip every year, which for the moſt part was unſucceſsful, either by ſhipwreck, or the death of the greateſt part of the crew. The ſhip which flattered the hopes of the proprietors moſt, brought back about 18 tons of yellow ſandal wood, 3300 hides, and 52000 lb. weight of aloes wood, wax, and gum tacamacu. Another returned loaded with 25 or 30 tons of rock cryſtal.

The time of the privileges granted to the company being expired, the duke de Meilleray obtained a grant in his own name; and in order to make his court to the king, equip'd and freighted at his own expence two ſhips for Madagaſcar in the beginning of 1654; but they had little better ſucceſs than the reſt. He ſpent all his fortune in fitting out new ones in concert with the company, which had obtained the renewal of their privileges. But it was entirely diſſolved by the death of this lord, which happened in 1664. They made a ceſſion of all their funds for 20000 livres to the ſucceeding one. When this laſt took poſſeſſion of Madagaſcar, the effects found there belonging to the duke of Mazarine, who had relinquiſhed his father's project, conſiſted of fourteen pieces of iron cannon without carriages, 580

bullets, 1000 pounds of chains, 100 empty granades, 50 croſs-bar ſhot, ſome lead, and a barrel of powder; the colony was then compoſed of 100 French. It muſt be obſerved that the duke de Meilleray had been grand maſter of the artillery, and that thoſe ſtores had been provided, more at the king's expence than his own.

Nothing leſs was neceſſary than the wiſdom and care of the illuſtrious Colbert to engage the French to revive the Eaſt-India trade. On the one hand he was ſenſible of the great advantages that might be drawn from it, if managed with prudence; and on the other, he ſaw that all thoſe who had hitherto undertaken it had ruined themſelves. In order to deſtroy theſe notions, and give birth to more engaging ones, he diſperſed a memorial which he had cauſed to be reviſed by M. Charpentier of the French academy, one of the beſt pens in Paris, that he might give the greater force to his reaſons. As it perfectly repreſents the ſituation of that affair, and was the beginning and epocha of the India company, I have thought it neceſſary to tranſcribe what is moſt eſſential in it.

It is there repreſented, "That the cauſes of the failure of the preceding companies, were either the want of funds, or meaſures ill concerted for the execution of their undertakings; inconveniencies into which there was now no danger of falling, becauſe it was certain the king would grant a ſingular protection to the new company; and that engaging in it himſelf, with one half of the kingdom, they would have larger funds than the Dutch

Dutch Eaſt-India company had at the beginning."

"Was it the firſt time, ſaid he, that an undertaking had failed at one time, and ſucceeded at another? Is not hiſtory full of great enterprizes which have not been compleated till after more than one attempt. The firſt Spaniards who went to the American iſlands were all killed, yet that misfortune did not prevent their ſending others thither. The Engliſh ſaw their colonies in Virginia ruined four or five times, yet that did not make them deſiſt. And to take example from the Dutch, the firſt ſtep that they took for a voyage to the Eaſt-Indies had a very unhappy iſſue. The ſecond time they were there they returned ſtill without profit, yet they were not diſcouraged. They went a third and a fourth time, and at laſt gathered with uſury the fruits of their perſeverance."

Paſſing from thence to the advantages of the iſland of Madagaſcar, where the fleet was to touch, he aſſured the publick: "That if they took the leaſt care to fortify themſelves there, they would not only have one, but ſeveral places of an ineſtimable value, and more conſequence than all that the Dutch poſſeſſed in the Indies, whether with reſpect to the places themſelves, or the eaſineſs and convenience of trade. That in effect it could not be denied, that that ſettlement was more convenient and ſafe than that of Batavia in the iſland of Java, where the Dutch had eſtabliſhed their principal reſidence: more convenient, becauſe Madagaſcar was a very pleaſant

country ſituated in a mild climate, and produced all the neceſſaries of life; whereas about Batavia, as it produces in a manner nothing, the company are obliged to bring from a diſtance rice, fleſh, and other neceſſary proviſions for twenty-five or thirty thouſand perſons, which cannot be done, without great trouble and expence: more ſafe, becauſe Java is peopled with barbarous, valiant, and warlike nations, who endure no ſtrangers, and making profeſſion of the mahometan law, hate and deſpiſe chriſtians. That on the one ſide the Dutch are contiguous to the king of Mataran, who has more than once beſieged them with a hundred thouſand men; that on the other ſide, they have the people of Bantam for their neighbours, who are only twelve leagues diſtant from them, and have frequently followed the king of Mataran's example: whereas all the inhabitants of Madagaſcar are of a tractable temper, and ſhew a good deal of readineſs to embrace the goſpel; ſo that a hundred men are in greater ſecurity in Madagaſcar, than above ten times the number at Java. Beſides that this ſettlement is ſafer and more pleaſant than that of the Dutch, it may be added, that trade will be carried on there with much leſs trouble, on account of the nearneſs of the place, which will ſhorten one third of the voyage. That the company will moreover avoid all the coaſting voyages of the Dutch in the Eaſt-Indies, where they are obliged to go from one iſland and town to another. And that they will not have that trouble in eſtabliſhing their principal magazine; becauſe being there, whether

whether they trade on the coaſt of the Red Sea, or enter the gulph of Bengal, or paſs towards China and Japan, they will never go out of their way, but be continually drawing nearer home."

After this he treated of the means of executing this project of eſtabliſhing a company in France. He ſaid; "That to bring it about, a fund of ſix millions was neceſſary, which ſhould be employed in equipping twelve or fourteen large ſhips, from 800 to 1400 tons, in order to carry a great number of people to Madagaſcar, and make a firm ſettlement there. That his majeſty might be humbly petitioned to engage for one tenth, and that it was not to be doubted but that he would willingly comply. That it was certain many great lords would engage for conſiderable ſums, provided the merchants who ſhould form the company at firſt reckoned it advantageous. That to encourage them the more, there was reaſon to believe, that his majeſty being engaged for one tenth of the firſt armament, might be prevailed on to furniſh more, if neceſſary, for the ſecond and the following. That his majeſty might be petitioned to remit to the company one half of the cuſtom-houſe entries, and of the duties throughout the kingdom, for the merchandizes brought from the Indies. That the king, to ſhew himſelf truly the father of his people, would willingly agree to bear for his ſhare all the loſs that might happen for the firſt eight or ten years, and that by this important engagement, every one would ſee the king had this affair really at heart.

That

That private perſons might be proprietors in the company for what ſums they pleaſed, till the fund was compleat, after which, no more ſhould be received. That to compleat it the ſooner, the king might be petitioned to allow foreigners willing to enter into the company, to ſubſcribe for what ſums they ſhould think fit. That they ſhould acquire the right of naturalization without having occaſion for any other letters, provided they were concerned for above ten thouſand livres, to which their relations, tho' aliens, might ſucceed by inheritance; and that in order to provide for their greater ſecurity, his majeſty ſhould be petitioned to grant them this privilege, that in caſe a rupture ſhould happen between this crown and the ſtate whoſe ſubjects they were, their effects ſhould not be ſeized or confiſcated in conſequence of a war.

That the company ſhould have its directors; and in order to take away all ſuſpicion from the traders of being oppreſſed by the other proprietors, thoſe directors ſhall be taken only from among the merchants, and all the funds ſhall be placed in the hands of one named on their part. And to give the greater encouragement to foreigners, and to teſtify the truſt repoſed in them, they ſhould be informed that they might be elected chiefs and directors of the company, provided they had a very conſiderable intereſt therein, and came to reſide in France with their families.

That the king ſhould likewiſe be petitioned to grant, that the cauſes of the company, both in ſueing

ſueing and defending, ſhould be carried at the firſt inſtance to the neareſt chamber of juſtice, and by appeal to parliament. Laſtly, that all private perſons who ſhould diſcover any thing for the advantage of the company, or the ſecurity of the proprietors, ſhould be welcome to inform them of it, that they ſhould be favourably heard, and their advice taken in what was moſt expedient."

This is the ſubſtance of what Mr. Colbert cauſed to be publiſhed, in order to induce his countrymen and foreigners to form the company, which he propoſed to eſtabliſh on memorials preſented to him by nine of the moſt eminent traders and manufacturers in the kingdom. The addreſs with which the plan was executed, produced all that the miniſter deſired. The merchants in concert with him drew up the articles and conditions of a new company, and preſented them to the council, petitioning for its eſtabliſhment. The project having been examined and approved by the king, he ſent printed copies of it to the principal cities of the kingdom on the 13th of June, 1664, to exhort private men to enter into the company, and in the month of Auguſt following, the edict of its eſtabliſhment was drawn up.

As that edict is in a manner the fundamental code of the Eaſt-India company, and as moſt part of the arrets which have followed for making changes or amendments are relative to it, it is neceſſary to give here an entire copy of it, eſpecially as it begins to grow ſcarce. To inveſt it with all the authority ſo important an affair required, and to render it more authentick,

the

the king, after relating the motives which engaged him to eſtabliſh this company, concludes the preamble in this manner.

" For theſe cauſes, and with the advice (*l*) of our honoured lady and mother, of our dear and well-beloved only brother the duke of Orleans, and of ſeveral princes of our blood, and great and noble perſons of our council, We have by theſe preſents, ſigned with our own hand, ſtatued and ordained, and we do ſtatue, ordain, will, and it is our pleaſure.

I. That the company of the Eaſt-Indies ſhall be formed of all our ſubjects, of what quality and condition ſoever, who ſhall chuſe to enter into it, and that for what ſum they ſhall think proper, without derogating thereby from their nobility and privileges, to which we may have raiſed and endued them: that no perſon have a leſs ſhare than one thouſand livres; nor ſhall the augmentations be below five hundred livres, for the eaſe of the calculations, dividends, and ſale (*m*) of the *actions*, (this is the firſt time this word is uſed to expreſs the ſtock and ſhares of the proprietors,) of which ſhares, one third ſhall be advanced in ready ſpecie for the firſt equipment, and the two other thirds in the two following years, equally, and by one half or moiety, in the month of December 1665 and 1666, under the penalty, that thoſe who ſhall not furniſh their two thirds in the ſaid time, ſhall loſe what they have advanced in their firſt and ſecond payments, which

(*l*) There was no longer a council of regency, the king being then near twenty-ſix years of age.

(*m*) Hence it appears that the actions were at a thouſand livres at the eſtabliſhment of the company.

which ſhall remain to the profits, and in the maſs of the funds of the ſaid company, without any proprietor having it in his power to withdraw, unleſs by ſelling his action, either to another proprietor, or ſome other perſon, who ſhall always preſerve the ſame ſhare; ſo that the fund ſhall never be diminiſhed; which capital fund ſhall be reputed moveable for every one of the ſaid proprietors.

II. Neither the directors nor the private proprietors ſhall be obliged on any pretence whatſoever, to advance any ſum beyond that for which they ſhall have obliged themſelves at the firſt eſtabliſhment of the company, either by way of ſupplement or otherwiſe.

III. All foreigners and ſubjects of any ſtate whatſoever, may enter into the ſaid company; and thoſe who ſhall have ſubſcribed twenty thouſand livres of principal, ſhall be reputed denizens, without any letters of naturalization, ſo that their relations, tho' foreigners, ſhall ſucceed to all the goods they may have in the kingdom.

IV. The ſtock and ſhares belonging to the particular proprietors of the ſaid company, of what quality ſoever, ſhall not be liable to be ſeized and confiſcated by us, altho' they ſhould be the ſubjects of princes and ſtates, with whom we may enter into war.

V. The directors of the ſaid company ſhall not be liable to be diſtreſſed or diſtrained in their perſons and goods on account of the affairs of the ſaid company; nor the effects thereof ſubject to any hypotheck for our affairs, nor ſeized for what

may

may be due to us by the private proprietors thereof.

VI. The officers who ſhall have a ſhare of twenty thouſand livres in the ſaid company, ſhall be diſpenſed from reſiding at the places of their eſtabliſhments, as they are obliged by our edicts and declarations of the months of December and March laſt, and ſhall enjoy their rights, ſalaries, and perquiſites, as if preſent.

VII. All thoſe who ſhall ſubſcribe the ſum of eight thouſand livres in the ſaid company, ſhall acquire the right of burghers in the cities of their abode, excepting in the cities of Paris, Rouen, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne, wherein they cannot acquire the ſaid right, unleſs they are proprietors for at leaſt twenty thouſand livres in the ſaid company.

VIII. All thoſe inclining to enter into the ſaid company, ſhall be obliged to declare themſelves in ſix months, reckoning from the day that the preſent declaration ſhall be read and regiſtered in the parliament of Paris; which time expired, no more ſhall be admitted or received into the ſaid company; and thoſe of our good city of Paris, who ſhall have declared and paid in their ſhares, may name, three months after the ſaid regiſtration, the directors of our ſaid city of Paris.

IX. The chamber or general direction of the affairs of the ſaid company ſhall be eſtabliſhed in our good city of Paris, and conſiſt of twenty-one directors, twelve for our city of Paris, and nine for the cities of the provinces, which ſhall be named and choſen, viz. twelve for the proprietors

of

of Paris, and nine for the proprietors of the other cities and provinces, every one in proportion to the ſums ſubſcribed into the company; and this ſhall be regulated in the manner afterwards to be related.

X. Until the company ſhall be fully formed and eſtabliſhed, the proprietors of the cities and provinces after-cited, ſhall aſſemble to chooſe and appoint the number of ſyndicks, viz. three for the city of Rouen, two for the city of Lyons, and one for each of the cities of Nantz, St. Maloes, Rochel, Bourdeaux, Tours, Marſeilles, Caen, Dieppe, Havre, and Dunkirk: which ſyndicks ſhall be obliged to repair to our city of Paris the firſt day of December next, in order to compoſe the ſaid chamber of general direction with the directors thereof, only to examine into and appoint the cities where it ſhall be proper to eſtabliſh the private chambers of direction, and the number of directors which ſhall compoſe the ſaid chambers, together with the number of directors which ſhall enter into and make part of the ſaid chamber of general direction at Paris; at which time the number of general directors may be augmented or diminiſhed; and if any of the ſyndicks are not then preſent, the buſineſs ſhall be tranſacted by thoſe that are.

XI. One month after the choice thus made of the cities, and the number of directors fixed, the private proprietors of the cities and provinces ſhall aſſemble and make election of that number of directors fixed at the general direction to compoſe each particular direction, and ſhall name thoſe who

who ſhall aſſiſt at the general direction at Paris, who ſhall be obliged to repair thither immediately. And the proprietors of the provinces may name their caſhier to receive their caſh, and remit it to the general caſhier in our city of Paris, appointed for the firſt time by the ſyndicks thereof; who ſhall receive the ſame until the general chamber is eſtabliſhed, and give an account of his management to the ſaid chamber, at which time the ſaid ſyndicks ſhall be diſcharged.

XII. The directors ſhall be choſen from among the merchants and actual traders, at leaſt three fourths of them, and the other fourth from among merchants withdrawn from buſineſs, the ſecretaries of our houſhold and crown who have been in buſineſs, and two burgeſſes, altho' they have never been in trade, provided the number of two ſhall never be increaſed, nor any other perſon of what rank, quality, and condition ſoever, choſen a director.

XIII. Nor ſhall any of the proprietors in the ſaid company have a deliberative voice in the election of directors, caſhiers and ſecretaries, if he has not at leaſt ſix thouſand livres; nor choſen for director in our city of Paris, if he has not at leaſt twenty thouſand livres, or director for the provinces ten thouſand livres, all ſtock in the company.

XIV. The firſt directors, choſen as has been ſaid, ſhall ſerve ſeven ſucceſſive years; which time expired, two ſhall be changed every year at Paris, and one in the other chambers, which changes during the firſt five years ſhall be made by lot, and afterwards

afterwards by rotation, when the time of each director is expired. And in caſe of death during the firſt ſeven years, one ſhall be choſen in their place by the other directors of their eſtabliſhments. A director who has been depoſed may be choſen anew after ſix years of interval; but the father, ſons, and ſons in law, and brothers, and brothers in law, cannot be directors at the ſame time.

XV. The directors of the ſaid general and private chambers, ſhall preſide therein monthly by rotation, beginning with the eldeſt, as ſhall be ordained after the general chamber is eſtabliſhed.

XVI. The chamber of general direction may make ſtatutes and regulations for the good and advantage of the company, which ſhall be obſerved according to their form and tenor.

XVII. The ſecretary and general caſhier of the company in France, ſhall be appointed by the plurality of voices of all thoſe who have right to vote for directors, and cannot be changed but in the ſame manner.

XVIII. A general aſſembly ſhall be held every year on the ſecond day of May, in order to deliberate on the moſt important affairs of the company, whereat thoſe who have a deliberative voice may aſſiſt, and the general directors ſhall be there appointed by a plurality of voices, the time abovementioned being expired.

XIX. All the accounts of the chambers of particular directions of the provinces, ſhall be ſent every ſix months to the chamber of general direction of our city of Paris; where the books of ac-

compts ſhall be examined, inſpected, and ſettled; and every year a general accompt of all the company's effects ſhall be given in by the general caſhier and book-keeper, which ſhall be ſettled, and afterwards the dividends of the profits made, all by the chamber of general direction of our city of Paris, and none of the private proprietors may on any occaſion whatever, alledge any other accompt than the general accompt, a note or abridgement of which ſhall be read and examined in the general aſſembly on the above-mentioned day.

XX. The ſaid chambers of general and particular directions, ſhall appoint the neceſſary officers to keep the caſh, the books and the accounts. The particular directors ſhall buy up the merchandizes and make the ſales, ſhall provide the ſhips and cargoes, and pay the ſalaries and other ordinary expences of every one in his department, as it ſhall be ſettled by the general chamber of Paris, which ſhall regulate and decide all that is neceſſary for the good and advantage of the company.

XXI. The directors of the general and particular chambers ſhall cauſe to be wrote in their books all the wages and ſalaries they give to their officers, ſervants, commiſſaries, workmen, ſoldiers, and others; which books ſhall bear faith in juſtice, and ſhall ſerve to decide the demands or pretenſions which any one may have on the ſaid company. And the wages of thoſe employed by them, ſhall not be liable to be ſeized or ſtopped on any account or cauſe whatſoever.

XXII.

XXII. Nor ſhall the effects of the company be liable to be ſeized, by the creditors of any of the proprietors, on account of their private debts, by vertue of ſentences or verdicts. Nor can commiſſaries or keepers be appointed for the ſaid effects, every thing done to their prejudice being hereby declared null. Nor ſhall the directors of the company be obliged to declare the ſtate of the of the ſaid effects, or give any account thereof to the creditors of the proprietors, reſerving to the creditors the right to ſeize and ſtop in the hands of the general caſhier and book-keeper of the company, what may be due to the proprietors by the accompts ſettled by the company, and to which they ſhall be obliged to conform.

XXIII. Nor ſhall any letters of ſtate, revocation, or ſuperſedeas, be granted to thoſe who ſhall have bought the company's effects, or diſpoſed of goods belonging to the ſame: ſo that the company ſhall always have the power to diſtrain their debtors by thoſe means, and as they ſhall be obliged thereto.

XXIV. All differences which may ariſe between the directors and proprietors of the company, or among the proprietors on account of its affairs, ſhall be determined in an amicable manner, by three directors, agreed upon by the parties, unleſs an office ſhall be appointed on the ſpot by the chambers of general and particular direction, where the differences are, in order to prevent the law-ſuits and diviſions which may happen in the company; in whoſe determination the parties ſhall be obliged to acquieſce, as to the

decree of a ſovereign court, on the penalty of paying all expences, damages, and intereſt.

XXV. All differences which may happen on any account concerning the company, between two or more directors or proprietors, and a private perſon for the affairs of the company, its circumſtances and dependances, ſhall be judged and determined by the conſular juſtice, or the judges who exerciſe his function, excluſive of all others, whoſe ſentences ſhall be executed ſovereignly, and without appeal, to the extent of fifteen hundred livres. And for the above affairs, the ſentences and judgements ſhall be executed, notwithſtanding any oppoſition and appeals whatſoever, and without prejudice of thoſe, whoſe appeal ſhall come before the ordinary judges, who ought to take cognizance of them; to which effect we ſhall cauſe to be eſtabliſhed the ſaid conſular juſtice in the cities where it is not, and where it ſhall be neceſſary.

XXVI. All criminal matters in which the company ſhall be a party, or any of the proprietors, on account of its affairs, whether they be plaintiffs or defendants, ſhall be determined by the ordinary judges, provided always that the criminal ſhall not be permitted to bring on a civil action, which action ſhall be conſtantly judged in manner as aforeſaid.

XXVII. The company may alone navigate and trade, excluſive of all our other ſubjects, from the Cape of Good Hope, throughout all the Indies, and from the Straits of Magellan and le Maire throughout all the South Seas, for the term of fifty

ſucceſſive

ſucceſſive years, to begin from the day that their firſt veſſels ſhall depart from the kingdom; during which time all other perſons are expreſsly prohibited to carry on that navigation and commerce, under penalty of the confiſcation of their veſſels, arms, ammunition and merchandizes, to be applied to the uſe of the company.

XXVIII. There ſhall belong to the ſaid company in perpetuity, and full property, the juriſdiction and lordſhip of all the lands, places and iſlands which they may conquer from our enemies, or which they may poſſeſs, whether they are abandoned, deſerted, or poſſeſſed by barbarians, with all the rights of lordſhip over the oars, mines of gold, ſilver, copper and lead, and all other minerals, even the right of ſlavery, and all other uſeful rights which might appertain to us, on the account of ſovereignty, in the ſaid countries.

XXIX. We have given, ceded and granted, and hereby give, cede and grant to the ſaid company, the iſland of Madagaſcar, or St. Lawrence, with the neighbouring iſlands, forts and ſettlements which our ſubjects may have made there; and as far as is neceſſary, we have ſubrogated the ſaid company to that heretofore eſtabliſhed for the ſaid iſland of Madagaſcar, in conſequence of the contract of ceſſion made by the proprietors of the ſaid old company to the ſyndicks of the new, paſſed by the notaries of the chatelet at Paris, which we have approved and ratified, and approve and ratify by theſe preſents, for the ſaid company to poſſeſs it in perpetuity, together with the rights contained in the preceding articles, reſerving to

ourſelves no right, or duty over the ſaid countries comprehended in the preſent ceſſion, but the ſole faith and liege homage, which the company ſhall be bound to render to us and our ſucceeding kings, with the duty at every new acceſſion of a king, of a crown and ſcepter of gold of the weight of one hundred marks.

XXX. The ſaid company ſhall be obliged to eſtabliſh eccleſiaſticks in the iſland of Madagaſcar and other places which they ſhall conquer, in ſuch a number and quality as ſhall be found proper, to inſtruct the people in the catholick, apoſtolick, and Roman religion, to build churches to ſettle the ſaid eccleſiaſticks there, in the quality of curates and other dignities, to perform divine ſervice and adminiſter the ſacraments, and for that effect to take the neceſſary inſtitutions; and the nomination of the ſaid curates and other dignities ſhall be in the company, whom they ſhall maintain honourably and decently, until they can ſet apart revenues for their ſubſiſtence.

XXXI. The company ſhall have the power and privilege of eſtabliſhing judges for the exerciſe of ſovereign juſtice and the marine, thro' all the extent of the ſaid countries, and others which they ſhall reduce to our obedience; and even over the French who ſhall be dwelling there; provided always that the company ſhall name to us the perſons they ſhall have choſen for the exerciſe of the ſaid ſovereign juſtice, to whom we ſhall tender the oath of fidelity, that they ſhall diſpenſe juſtice gratuitouſly, and the decrees ſhall run in our name, for which purpoſe commiſſions ſhall be expedited

expedited for the ſaid judges, ſealed with our great ſeal.

XXXII. The officers eſtabliſhed for the ſaid ſovereign juſtice, may eſtabliſh ſuch a number of ſubaltern officers, and in ſuch places as they ſhall think proper, to whom they ſhall cauſe make out commiſſions under our name, ſealed with our ſeal; which ſubaltern officers ſhall likewiſe diſpenſe juſtice gratuitouſly.

XXXIII. The judges eſtabliſhed in the ſaid places ſhall be obliged to judge according to the laws and ordonnances of our kingdom of France, and to follow and conform to the cuſtom of the provoſtſhip and vicounty of Paris, according to which the inhabitants may contract, without power to introduce any other cuſtom, in order to avoid diverſity.

XXXIV. For the execution of decrees, and for all acts where our ſeal may be neceſſary, one ſhall be made, and put into the hands of him who ſhall preſide in the ſaid ſovereign juſtice.

XXXV. The company, for the command of their armies, ſhall name a lieutenant general of the country, and of what ſhall be conquered, who ſhall be commiſſioned, and his oath of fidelity received by us; and in caſe his conduct ſhall not be agreeable to the company, they may appoint another, who ſhall likewiſe be commiſſioned and received by us.

XXXVI. The company may ſend in our name embaſſadors to the kings of the Indies, and make treaties with them either of a peace or a truce,

even declare war, and do all other acts they ſhall judge proper for the advantage of commerce.

XXXVII. The company may equip and arm what number of veſſels they ſhall ſee good, either for war or commerce, hoiſt upon their ſterns the white flag with the arms of France, eſtabliſh garriſons in all the places above-mentioned, or which may be conquered and built, with ſuch a number of companies and men as they ſhall reckon neceſſary, place arms, cannon, and warlike ſtores therein, found cannon and other arms in all places, and in ſuch a number as they ſhall have occaſion, on which ſhall be engraved our arms, and below, thoſe of the company, who ſhall do every thing they think neceſſary for the ſecurity of the ſaid places; which ſhall be commanded by captains and officers of all ranks, which the company may appoint in what manner they think beſt; provided always that they take an oath of fidelity to us, and afterwards a particular oath to the ſaid company.

XXXVIII. And to favour the more the inhabitants of the ſaid ceded countries, and to induce our ſubjects to dwell therein, our pleaſure is, that thoſe who ſhall paſs into the ſaid countries, ſhall enjoy the ſame liberties and privileges as if they had ſtaid in the kingdom; and that thoſe who ſhall be born of them, and of the inhabitants of the ſaid countries converted to the catholick, apoſtolick, and Roman faith, ſhall be reputed and eſteemed denizens and citizens of France, and as ſuch be capable of all ſucceſſions, gifts, legacies, and

other

other diſpoſitions, without being obliged to obtain any letters of naturalization; and that the artizans who may have exerciſed their arts and trades in the ſaid countries during eight ſucceſſive years, by bringing certificates from the officers of the places where they dwelt, atteſted by the directors of the company, ſhall be reputed maſters of their trades in all the cities of our kingdom where they ſhall incline to ſettle, without any exception.

XXXIX. If any captures are made by the company's ſhips on the enemies of the ſtate beyond the line, and in the ſeas of the ceded countries, they ſhall belong to them, and ſhall be judged by the officers eſtabliſhed in the places of the ſaid countries whither they can moſt conveniently be carried, according to the ordinances of the marine, ſaving the appeal to the ſovereign juſtice.

XL. We promiſe the ſaid company to defend them againſt all, and to employ the force of our arms on all occaſions to maintain them in the entire liberty of trade and navigation, and to procure them ſatisfaction for all injuries done them, in caſe any nation ſhall make attempts againſt them; and to cauſe eſcort their outward and homeward bound veſſels, at our own charge and expence, by ſuch a number of ſhips of war as the company ſhall have occaſion for, not only thro' all the coaſts of Europe and Africa, but even unto the Indies.

XLI. We promiſe to cauſe furniſh the company for their armaments and equipments with the quantity of a hundred meaſures of ſalt for ſalting their

their proviſions at Havre-de-Grace, or other convenient places, by the hands of the commiſſaries of the granaries, at the merchants price, provided always that they ſhall uſe it with good faith without abuſing the ſame.

XLII. We have granted to the company the liberty of taking for their arms an eſcutcheon of a round form, an azure ground, and the field loaded with golden flowers de luce, and for a motto *Florebo quocumque ferar*, and for ſupporters two figures, one of peace, and the other of plenty; which arms the company may uſe in their ſeals, and cauſe them to be placed on their cannons, arms, ſhips, buildings, and wherever they ſhall think proper.

XLIII. The company ſhall be exempt during the time of their preſent privilege from all duties of entry on wood, hemp, iron, cordage, warlike ſtores, and other things neceſſary for building and victualling their ſhips, and likewiſe the ſaid ſhips ſhall be exempt from the duties of the admiralty.

XLIV. The merchandizes which ſhall come from the Indies, and be landed in the ports of this kingdom, to be afterwards tranſported into foreign countries, ſhall pay no duties at coming in or going out, but ſhall be depoſited in the cuſtom-houſes of the places where they arrive, if there are any; and if there are none, they ſhall be marked and depoſited until they are carried away; at which places the company's factors ſhall make a declaration of them to the proprietors or commiſſioners of the five grand farms, ſigned by one of the directors of the company; and when the factors

factors incline to tranſport them elſewhere, they ſhall take an acquittance, provided that in a certain time he produces a certification that they are arrived at the deſtined place; and merchandizes that are not known and in the tarif ſhall pay three per cent. according to a valuation that ſhall be made of them by the chamber of general direction of our city of Paris.

XLV. And to ſhew our paternal goodneſs to our ſubjects, and to further the eſtabliſhment of the company ſo advantageous to private perſons and the ſtate, we promiſe to advance immediately one fifth of all the expences which ſhall be neceſſary for the three firſt equipments; ſo that we ſhall immediately cauſe to be delivered to the overſeer appointed by the company to receive the money, the ſum of three hundred thouſand livres; and when he ſhall have received of the proprietors four hundred thouſand livres, we ſhall cauſe to be delivered to him three hundred thouſand livres more, and ſo ſucceſſively to the ſum of three millions of livres for the three fifths of the ſum of fifteen millions of livres, at which we have fixed the total funds of the company; which three fifths we ſhall furniſh the firſt year, in proportion as the proprietors ſhall furniſh four, provided that we ſhall furniſh nothing for the two following years; which ſum we lend to the company without any intereſt, and even without taking part therein; but are ſatisfied with the obligation of the company to repay us the ſaid ſum without intereſt at the end of the ten firſt years, reckoning from the day when the firſt capital fund of the company

company ſhall be compleated; and in caſe it ſhall be found by a general accompt at the end of the ſaid ten years that the company has loſt of its capital, our pleaſure is, that all the loſs ſhall fall on the ſum we have advanced to the company; the accompt of all the effects of which ſhall be ſettled by the chamber of general direction at Paris, without the company's being obliged to accompt in our chamber of accompts or elſewhere, from which we have diſpenſed and diſpenſe by theſe preſents.

XLVI. And that the company may be the better able to ſupport the expences they will neceſſarily be at for ſettlements in countries ſo remote, we promiſe to cauſe pay to them for every voyage of their ſhips which ſhall be fitted out and loaded in the ports and harbours of France, to land them in the ſaid ceded countries, and which ſhall return into the kingdom, the ſum of fifty livres tournois for every ton of merchandizes which they ſhall carry into the ſaid countries, and the ſum of ſeventy-five livres for every ton which they ſhall bring back and land in this kingdom; whereof we have made and make a preſent to the company, to whatever ſum the whole may amount, without there being occaſion for any other letters than theſe preſents. We will, and it is our pleaſure, that the ſaid ſums ſhall be paid to the general caſhier of the company, by the keeper of our royal treaſury, on the certification of two of the ſaid directors, and paſſed without difficulty in the accounts belonging thereto.

XLVII.

XLVII. And in as much as the ſucceſs of this great deſign will particularly depend on the conduct and vigilance of the directors, we promiſe to thoſe who ſhall have well acquitted themſelves of the ſaid employs, to grant them marks of honour which ſhall paſs to their poſterity, even to thoſe of the officers and members of the general council, which ſhall be eſtabliſhed by the company at Madagaſcar, or at the chief ſeat of the commerce in the Indies.

Given at Vincennes, in the month of Auguſt, the year of grace 1664, and of our reign the twenty-ſecond. Signed LEWIS, and. below, DE GUINEGAUD.

Theſe letters patent were regiſtered in September, in the parliament, the chamber of accompts, and the court of aids, with a general applauſe; and ſo much the more, that on the 7th of Auguſt the king had given an order on the royal treaſury for three hundred thouſand livres, to be paid to the caſhier of the company.

Such was the eagerneſs of the great Colbert to form the company, ſuch were the motives and means he employed to make this project ſucceed, and to engage adventurers; the zeal was equal on both ſides. The company diſperſed on this ſubject many writings and bills thro' Paris and the principal cities of the kingdom.

The firſt of thoſe writings contained the regulations and the policy which ſhould be obſerved in the colony deſigned for Madagaſcar. They began by declaring, that they would pay a particular and ſevere attention to do honour to the holy name of

of God. That blaſphemers ſhould be rigorouſly puniſhed. That no other religion ſhould be tolerated but the catholick. The exerciſe whereof ſhould be performed with as much exactneſs, decency, and ceremonies, as in France itſelf. Rapes, adultery, and libertiniſm, were forbidden under ſevere penalties: theft committed on the natives was to be equally puniſhed; and murder, aſſaſſination, duels, and all manner of injuſtice and violence. Laſtly, they declared that the laws of the kingdom of France ſhould be obſerved there in all their extent.

The ſeverity of theſe ſtatutes did not prevent a great concourſe of people offering to embark themſelves for that diſtant country. On the 7th of March, 1665, the year following, four ſhips, the firſt of the new company, carrying 520 men, and fitted out, partly as ſhips of war, and partly as merchantmen, ſet ſail from the harbour of Breſt for Madagaſcar, where they arrived the 10th of July, after a voyage of four months and three days. As ſoon as they arrived, they changed the name of Madagaſcar to that of *Iſle Dauphine*, as an acknowledgement to God, ſays the declaration which ordered this change, for the favours he poured down daily ſo plentifully on the royal family, and in particular for having bleſſed the marriage of his majeſty with the birth of a dauphine, (then four years of age) who, in his infancy, gave ſuch early and promiſing hopes of ſucceeding one day to the piety and virtue of his forefathers. Sixteen years before, that is to ſay, in 1649, the ſieur Flacourt, governor of the conquered countries,

tries, had given the name the *Iſle of Bourbon* to Maſcaregne, an iſland in the neighbourhood of Madagaſcar.

While they were intent on fitting out a ſecond fleet, the company wanting adventurers, fixed up printed papers, where they declared they had reſolved to make thoſe who ſettled in the colony, proprietors of as much land as they could labour, themſelves, their families, and ſervants. This contained a deſcription of the country, and the conditions that ſhould be granted to thoſe who went thither. Theſe two points appear to me of importance.

" The air of the Iſle of Dauphine, ſaid the company, is very temperate; two-thirds of the year are like the ſpring; the other third is not hotter than the ſummer in France; people live there to one hundred, and a hundred and twenty years of age.

The fruits there are very good and plentiful; pulſe, peas, and all ſorts of roots, are good and very wholſome. Rice is gathered three times a year; European grain grows better there than in France; and there are vines, which if cultivated, would yield extremely good wine.

There are great quantities of oxen, cows, goats, hogs, and other cattle. There are gold, ſilver, lead, cotton, wax, ſugar, tobacco, black and white pepper, ebony, all ſorts of dying wood, and other good merchandizes. Nothing is wanting but men who have the addreſs to make uſe of theſe things, and to ſet the negroes, the inhabitants of the country, to work, who are docile, obedient,

obedient, and ſubmiſſive to what is commanded them. Thoſe who are acquainted with the culture of theſe ſorts of merchandizes would make great advantages thereby. Silk-worms are very common upon the trees, and produce ſilk which is very fine and eaſily wrought.

To give opportunity to every one to partake of thoſe advantages, all perſons of both ſexes who offer themſelves ſhall have their paſſage in the company's ſhips, which will ſet ſail in the month of July next of the preſent year 1665, in order to be ſettled in colonies on the Iſle Dauphine, in which, immediately after their arrival, lands ſhall be diſtributed among them for their proper abode, in perpetuity, and to their heirs and aſſignees, paying a ſmall duty for each meaſure, without any other charge; and ſhall be maintained during their paſſage and three months after their arrival in the iſland; which expence they ſhall reimburſe to the company at a very reaſonable rate, and the ſum agreed upon ſhall be paid them in merchandizes which they ſhall have gathered or traded for in the iſland, at three terms, every one a year, the firſt falling a year after their ſettlement; and they ſhall be furniſhed with goods, utenſils, and neceſſary cloaths, in the iſland, at a very reaſonable price.

It will be obſerved, that all Frenchmen having gone to the Iſle Dauphine and other places of the Indies, who ſhall have ſtaid there the ſpace of eight years, ſhall be received as maſters of their arts and trades in all cities of the kingdom, conformable to the 38th article of the king's declaration of 1664.

For

"For the inſtruction of the paſſengers, the company has, and ſhall carry in all their ſhips, miſſionaries and eccleſiaſticks, and brothers of the charity, phyſicians, ſurgeons, and apothecaries, to take care of their health."

Hitherto the company ſeem to have confined themſelves to the Iſle Dauphine, and the advantages they began to draw from thence, gave them the greateſt expectations for the future. Two foreigners who offered them their ſervice, excited them to carry their views farther. The firſt was a Dutchman, named Caron, (*i*) who had been preſident of the commerce of the republick at Japan, and out of diſcontent had retired into France. The ſecond was named Marcara Avanchinz, a native of Iſpahan in Perſia, who had ſpent a great part of his life in the Eaſt-Indies in the quality of a merchant. Mr. Colbert engaged the firſt to go to make a ſettlement for the company in the Indies and Japan in 1666. The ſame year, and a ſhort time after, Marcara the Perſian ſet ſail, in order to co-operate with him in the ſame cauſe, being inveſted with the title of counſellor to the ſovereign council of the Iſle Dauphine, and director of all the factories of the company in the Indies, Perſia, and the country of the ſouth.

But inſtead of acting in concert, a jealouſy aroſe between the two chiefs, and Caron got the better

(*i*) See on this epocha the voyages of Souchu de Rennefort. Part II. l. i, & ii. They are excellent for the beginning of the Indian company. But I cannot make uſe of them without running into improper digreſſions.

of his rival, who was condemned and recalled by the company. He pleaded his cauſe before the publick by memorials, which he diſperſed in his juſtification. What perſonal things we find there are no longer intereſting, but they contain a great many facts, which inform us in what manner the firſt eſtabliſhment of the French company in the Eaſt-Indies was formed, in which he had certainly the largeſt ſhare. His apology gives us all the detail neceſſary for our ſubject, which is no where elſe to be met with.

"The ſieur Marcara, ſay his memoirs, departed from the Iſle Dauphine, the 15th of October 1667, with the ſieur Caron, in order to ſettle the firſt factory of the company at the Indies in the city of Surat. The 24th of December, (that is, after a voyage of two months and nine days they touched at Cochin in order to take refreſhment there, and were received with great civilities by the officers of the Dutch garriſon. From thence, they arrived at Suali, the port of Surat, the 13th of February 1668. The ſieur Caron made a purchaſe of ſome very bad indigo there, in ſpite of all the ſieur Marcara could do to the contrary. Thus the company having received it, were diſſatisfied, and made complaints about it. The ſhip after that ſet ſail the 29th of April 1668, for the Iſle Dauphine, where it arrived the 21ſt of June, after a voyage of leſs than two months.

The 19th of October following, the ſieur Marcara ſet ſail again for Surat, together with the ſieurs de Faye and Goujon, all in different ſhips, and

and arrived at Suali the 15th of March 1669. Some days afterwards it was determined in the council of the company, that the ſhips named *Marie*, the *Aigle d'or*, and *la Flute*, ſhould be freighted, in order to be ſent to different places. The charge of this was committed to the ſieurs Marcara and Goujon, whereof they acquitted themſelves to the ſatisfaction of all the world.

The ſame council afterwards reſolved, that the ſieur Marcara ſhould go to the court of the king of Golconda, to obtain from him the powers and privileges neceſſary for the company to trade in his dominions, to buy up, and cauſe goods to be manufactured there, and to eſtabliſh a factory of the company at Maſulipatan.

According to this ſecond determination, the ſieur Marcara departed from Surat for Golconda, the 13th of May 1669, not having been able to do it ſooner, on account of the deceaſe of the ſieur de Faye, general director, which happened at Surat the 2d of May 1669, as unexpected as it was prejudicial to the company. He landed at Golconda the 21ſt of June following, with four commiſſaries who accompanied him, and was very ſplendidly entertained by Anazarbec, his relation, one of the principal men at the court, and by the king's ſon-in-law, both his old friends, who did him all manner of good offices. They ſpoke to the king in ſo obliging a manner, that that prince ordered Jabarbec, governor of Maſulipatan, to hear the propoſals of the ſieur Marcara, and make a report to him.

The ſieur Marcara having been informed of this, made ſeveral viſits to Jabarbec, wherein he entertained him with the greatneſs of the French king, the glory of the French nation, and the merit of the company, which eagerly deſired to have his permiſſion for trading in the eſtates of the king of Golconda. He aſſured him that was the only motive that led him to court, and for which he wiſhed the honour of an audience from the king.

Jabarbec heard him with pleaſure and applauſe, and gave him a favourable anſwer. He teſtified no leſs ſatisfaction with the king's picture, which Marcara ſhewed him. He treated him and all his company magnificently, made him very rich preſents, amongſt others, a Perſian horſe worth 1800 livres, and gave him his word he would make an ample report to the king of all he had ſaid and propoſed to him.

In the interval of thoſe negotiations, the Dutch, who had advice of it, ſpared underhand no preſents nor money to prevent the ſieur Marcara having audience of the king of Golconda, or obtaining what he deſired of him.

To evade this tempeſt, the ſieur Marcara wrote the king a letter in the Perſian language, in which, after having repreſented in a very reſpectful manner, that he had waited at the court a long time, without having been able to obtain an audience of his majeſty, which he ſollicited ſo eagerly, he ſupplicated him in a very humble manner to grant him that honour as ſoon as circumſtances would

would permit him. This meaſure had all the good effects the Perſian could have hoped from it. The king of Golconda received him very graciouſly; he heard him with attention; and, teſtifying a ſingular eſteem for the king of France, he promiſed, in conſideration of him, to grant to the company he had eſtabliſhed for the Indian commerce, a full liberty of trading in all his dominions. The ſieur Marcara then made the prince a preſent of the king's picture, which he accepted, and, to ſhew his eſteem for it, immediately gave orders to have it ſet in a frame of maſſy gold. The ſieur Marcara made him likewiſe a preſent of five pieces of very fine French gold brocade, thirteen pieces of Dutch cloth, eleven mirrors, four double louiſdors worth about 3800 roupees, and three great cheſts of the beſt Perſian wine, which the prince accepted with pleaſure; and by way of acknowledgement, gave the ſieur Marcara, and all who accompanied him, very rich cloaths after the country faſhion.

After ſo favourable an audience, the Perſian gave advice of it to the ſieur Caron, the general director, and to the council at Surat; and upon the king's promiſe to grant him all he deſired, he ſent a merchant and a factor of the company to Maſulipatan, in order to make ſure of a houſe to ſettle a factory there, with the money that was neceſſary to buy up mercantile goods.

About the 15th of October, the officers of the king of Golconda brought the ſieur Marcara a *firman*, or letters patent, which having read, he found was not in the form he wiſhed: he thanked

them for their trouble, and gave them back the firman, refuſing to accept it. He ſollicited another, which had not the reſtrictions of the firſt, and he ſpent near two months in obtaining it. A factor, impatient at this delay, wrote to Surat and Maſulipatan, that the ſieur Marcara was betraying the company, and that there was no appearance of his obtaining the firman he ſollicited for.

The ſequel made the contrary appear, and ſhewed the dexterity of the ſieur Marcara in affairs. The 5th of December of the ſame year, 1669, he received the firman in the moſt ample and favourable form that had ever been granted by the king of Golconda. Theſe letters gave liberty to the French company, to carry on all, and ſuch trades as they ſhould think fit in the kingdom for ever, without paying any duty either at the entrance or clearing of ſhips, whether they belonged to the king or the company."

It is remarkable, that the Dutch had at all times made extraordinary ſollicitations, and given immenſe preſents to the king of Golconda, that they might obtain the like privilege, but could never bring it about. If the Engliſh obtained it in 1655, it was by the intervention of an extraordinary embaſſador, by immenſe preſents, and twenty years ſervices by ſea for the intereſts of the king of Golconda. The ſieur Marcara, provided with his firman, took leave of the king, and returned to Maſulipatan the 26th of December, in order to ſettle the company's factory there.

Mamontbek

Mamontbek, who had ſucceeded Jabarbec a little before in the government of that city, was advertiſed of it by letter, in which the king commanded him to do more honour to Marcara than to any other ſtranger. Accompanied by all the great men of the country, he went to meet him two leagues from Maſulipatan, received him in a magnificent manner, and conducted him to his palace with great ceremony. He immediately cauſed the firman, which the ſieur Marcara prepreſented to him, to be made publick in a ſolemn manner, and to be regiſtered in the chancellary of Maſulipatan, promiſing to take care it ſhould be punctually executed. Then he conducted him to the houſe that had been hired for the company's factory, where he reſided, and managed the commerce in the beſt manner poſſible.

He was in this ſituation, when in 1671, he was informed by a letter from Batavia, that the ſieurs Gueſton and Blot, general directors of the company, had left France to come to Surat, in order to preſide at the council and in the commerce of the company; and that Mr. de la Haye accompanied them with a conſiderable army. The two directors arrived at laſt, bringing with them a long memorial from Mr. Colbert, which made a new regulation for the council and officers of the company at Surat, which turned out and directed the trial of Marcara's friends, without however naming him, or charging him in any manner, and gave the firſt rank every where to the ſieur Gueſton, the ſecond in the Indies to the

ſieur Caron, Marcara's rival, and the third to the ſieur Blot.

"The arrival of theſe directors, the memoirs of the ſieur Marcara reſume in this place, was not agreeable to the ſieur Caron, becauſe he apprehended they would examine into his conduct, and compare it with his rival's, whom he had decried at the court of France. He exerted himſelf in ſettling a factory at Bantam, and on that account gave a petty prince of the country 30000 roupies, amounting to 45000 livres, without any advantage to the company. Immediately after this, he went aboard the St. Paul, accompanied with the Vulture, and bent his courſe to Surat. At laſt he went for France, under pretence of carrying thither a veſſel loaded with eaſtern merchandizes, which arrived at Port Lewis the 26th of May 1673. But not daring to land himſelf with all the treaſures he had amaſſed at the expence of the company, and fearing he might be called to account for it, he reſolved to ſave himſelf in Portugal. When he entered the harbour of Liſbon, the cables of his ſhip failed all on a ſudden, the veſſel ſplit in two, and thus he periſhed with all his riches."

One great advantage attending the memoirs and the cauſe of the ſieur Marcara, is this; that the king having taken cognizance of his affair, which had been examined by Monſ. Colbert, ſolemnly diſcharged him by an arret of his council, of all the falſe imputations wherewith his enemies had accuſed him. And indeed, we can never enough commend

command his zeal, his diſintereſtedneſs, and the great ſervice which he had performed to the company by the privileges he obtained of the king of Golconda, and which would have been followed with conſequences ſtill more advantageous, had he not been obliged to return into France. It is alſo true, that the ſieur Caron ſettled factories at Surat, and at Bantam; but this was no hard matter in a country where ſtrangers are not excluded from trading. The great point was to obtain the exemption from duties on commodities, and this is what the ſieur Marcara brought to paſs, to whom the company will be eternally obliged, as to one of her principal founders in the Eaſt-Indies.

The advantages which he procured for the company in the kingdom of Golconda, were ſo much the more valuable, as they began to perceive the ſmall profits that were to be made in the iſle Dauphine. Beſides, every thing was very ill managed in that iſland by the directors and preſidents of the council, who changed all the regulations made by the king and by the company; both in reſpect of the conditions agreed upon with the new Inhabitants, the appointments of the factors, the manner of employing the company's funds, whereof 40000 livres had been found to have been embezzled, and for which the king ordained a rigorous enquiry to be made by an arret of the 1ſt of April 1669. His majeſty having taken upon himſelf the loſſes which the company ſhould ſuſtain in the firſt ten years of this enterprize, was in a particular manner intereſted

reſted in repreſſing thoſe abuſes. He determined to take back the ſovereignty of the iſle Dauphine which he had yielded in property to the company, by the articles 27th, 28th, 29th, of the celebrated edict of 1664, and which the company willingly abandoned. This change was decided by an arret of the 12th of November 1670.

The company turned their hopes with better grounds to the coaſt of the Eaſt-Indies. The ſovereign council of the iſle Dauphine having been ſuppreſſed, was transferred to Surat under the direction of the ſieurs Gueſton, Caron, Blot, and Baron, to whom were given full powers both in civil and criminal caſes, by letters patent of the month of January 1671. The king had already granted two millions to ſupport this new enterprize, when it was known that the ſieurs Caron and Marcara were happily arrived on the coaſt of Coromandel. This is known from an arret of the council of the finance of the 21ſt of September 1668. This was followed by ſeveral others, which confirmed and augmented the privileges of the proprietors, ſuch as exemption from all local duties, grants upon their merchandize, that of grabeau, aunage, and one *per cent.*

We muſt add to theſe favours, the permiſſion granted the company, by a declaration of the month of June 1666, to make eſtabliſhments at Port Lewis for their magazines, and at a place called Feandick, and others, along the rivers Hennelon and Ponſcot, for dock-yards fit for the building of their ſhips. They had alſo granted them

them to this effect by the ſame declaration, all void and waſte places belonging to the king, which were in the place abovementioned. It is from this that Port l' Orient was formed, which the company of the Indies poſſeſs to this day in abſolute property and lordſhip, conform to the title of conceſſion, and without any tax or duties, except the ſole fue and homage-liege at each ſucceſſion to the crown.

Altho' the privileges of the company of the Eaſt-Indies ſeem to comprehend in general all the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, notwithſtanding a new company was formed at the ſame time, that is to ſay, in 1660, which had the trade to China for it's particular object. One Fermanel, a rich merchant of Rouen, ſeems to have been the author and principal conductor of it. According to the ſcheme which he publiſhed, a fund was required of 220000 livres or thereabouts, as well for the fitting out of ſhips, as for purchaſe of merchandize proper for the trade of the Eaſt. The aſſurances which he gave of making their fortune, engaged ſeveral perſons of all ranks to become proprietors. However, no more than 140000 livres could be made up, as we learn from the ſubſcriptions of the perſons engaged.

The articles of this undertaking were ſettled in the houſe of the ſieur l'Hoſte, the 15th of April 1660; and they comprehended twenty-three heads. It is there ſaid, that it's principal object was the glory of God, and the propagation of the faith;

faith; and to gain credit to this pretext, biſhops and miſſionaries were to have been ſent aboard the ſhip, whoſe expences were to be borne, and who ſhould labour in the converſion of the infidels. They were to land theſe prelates named by the pope, in one or more ports of Tonquin, Cochinchina, or China, in their own option. They were to be entreated to take particular care that none of the funds of the company were miſapplied, and that a good and faithful regiſter ſhould be kept of all the purchaſes, and ſales of commodities, made by the factors. They were to be empowered to cauſe money to be given to thoſe factors for extraordinary contingencies, and to go, if need were, farther into the countries to diſcover and learn their commerce.

Fermanel had in charge to build in Holland or elſewhere, a ſhip from three to four hundred tons, to arm, equip, and provide her in every thing after the manner of the Hollanders; the whole for two years, that is to ſay, for ſo long a time as was neceſſary to go and return, for the greater ſecurity. Fermanel might take what number of officers and ſailors he judged neceſſary, without, however, admitting above twelve or fifteen foreigners, amongſt whom one or two were to have been ſuch as were expert in the commerce of China. But neither were to be paid till their return.

All the merchandizes which ſhould proceed from that voyage, were to be ſold in common in order to keep up the price, and not to be divided according

according to their different ſpecies. Before that the ſtock and profits ſhould be diſtributed, it was agreed to take up ſo much of as it ſhould be neceſſary for a ſecond voyage, &c.

The profits were ſo far from being conſiderable enough to engage in a new enterprize, that it appears that they ſtuck at the firſt, the bad ſucceſs of which diſſolved the company. It is not even known whether they obtained of the king letters confirming that eſtabliſhment: for it was then a maxim among the Chineſe to ſhut up their ports from all foreign nations, for fear that the frequency of ſtrangers might corrupt their laws, or give occaſion to form enterprizes againſt their liberties. The emperor who reigned in that kingdom in 1685, was the firſt who changed this policy. Immediately the Indians and Europeans hurried into this trade; but the ſituation of the French did not permit them to carry on any trade thither but what was very inconſiderable. It was not till the year 1698, that the new company of China was formed, as I ſhall relate in it's place.

The company privileged to trade in the Eaſt-Indies, was ſo far from being in a condition to augment their commerce, that they had loſt a conſiderable part of their funds, a thing almoſt inevitable, in all beginnings of enterprizes. The king being informed of this by the general account laid before the aſſembly of Paris, took this misfortune into his conſideration, and was faithful to the promiſe he had made. The 13th of September he made a declaration, by which he ordained

dained a repartition of ten per cent. to all the proprietors of the company, who had been found to have exactly performed the advancement of the funds, which they had undertaken to pay at different terms, and he granted a particular gratification to the directors of the company, as well as to the widows of the perſons concerned. In order to give them a new proof of his zeal and attachment, he adds; "Having regard to the loſſes which the company has ſuſtained in the beginning of their eſtabliſhment, and ſince that time, which have been found to exceed the four millions which we have agreed to lend them, and have cauſed to be paid into the treaſury of the ſaid company, on the conditions which our edict bears, of the 20th of September 1668, we have diſcharged, and by theſe preſents do diſcharge, the company and their directors, from the ſaid ſum of four millions of livres, abſolving them from making reſtitution of all or any part, and from giving any manner of account in our chamber of accounts, board of finances, or elſewhere; holding ourſelves ſatisfied with the enquiry made into the affairs of the company by the commiſſioners by us deputed to that effect."

Monſ. Colbert, ever equally zealous for an eſtabliſhment, whereof he foreſaw the future ſucceſſes, however unproſperous they had hitherto been, procured to the company, in the month of February 1676, a new arret, which exempted, from all duties inwards and outwards, all merchandize bought at the publick ſales of the company

pany of the Indies, conform to the 44th of the famous declaration of 1664. The proprietors of the four great farms had obtained a contrary arret of the 2d of September 1673, and the 4th of September 1674. But the king diſpenſes with it by this other arret above-mentioned, excepting only ſuch goods as ſhould be tranſported to Lyons, which ſhould pay one fourth only of the duties inwards, and the cuſtoms of the ſaid city.

Notwithſtanding the ſmall profits ariſing from the trade to the Indies, the king's protection kept up their hopes, and brought from time to time new proprietors to engage, or private merchants who were willing to engage in the trade to the Eaſt, without entering into the company of the Indies. His majeſty gave permiſſion to theſe with reſtrictions, which ſhewed his concern for the intereſt of the company. Theſe conditions were, 1ſt, That the private merchants ſhould make uſe of the company's ſhips for carrying goods and paſſengers, as well going out as returning. 2dly, That they ſhould pay on both theſe accounts, the freight agreed upon before their departure. 3dly, That goods imported as returns on the account of private merchants, ſhould be lodged in the company's warehouſes, to be there publickly ſold together with thoſe of the company, to the higheſt bidder, excepting pearls, diamonds, and precious ſtones, which ſhould be reſtored to the private proprietors. 4thly, That of all other merchandizes that ſhould have been ſold with thoſe of the company, the amount of the ſale ſhould be exactly paid to the private proprietors,

prietors, in money and bills of exchange, in the ſame manner as they ſhould have been paid by the buyers themſelves, deducing the duties inwards due to the king, the payment of which the directors were to take upon themſelves for the proprietors. 5thly, That this permiſſion ſhould hold good for five years only, to commence on the 1ſt of April 1682. Laſtly, That if it was found that this permiſſion was prejudicial to the intereſts of the company, the directors ſhould be empowered to revoke it, or cauſe it to ceaſe in whole or in part, or to prorogate and extend it for their own advantage, for ſo long time, and in what manner they ſhould judge it expedient. And all this, notwithſtanding the 27th article of the declaration of 1664, with which the king diſpenſes in this reſpect only. This permiſſion is dated the 20th of January 1682.

This regard for the company did not prevent a treaty with which they were very ill ſatisfied, and which was not only prejudicial, but ſcandalous, as ſhewing the ſmall degree of confidence that the people repoſed in them, but alſo their weakneſs and declining condition. In order to diſſipate theſe notions of the publick, and to create a more advantageous opinion of them, there was held a third general meeting in the month of April 1684, in which it was found that the company's funds were reduced to three millions, three hundred and fifty-three thouſand, nine hundred and ſixty-ſix livres, thirteen ſous, and four deniers. This decreaſe was attributed, 1ſt, to the war with the Dutch from the year 1672 to 1678, in which they

they had done us abundance of damage both at ſea and in the Indies; 2dly, to the bad conduct of the directors and factors; 3dly, to the negligence or timidity of the proprietors, who had been very much behindhand in the advance of the funds which had been agreed upon. To remedy all theſe abuſes, it was decided, that all the old directors in the general chamber of Paris, all particular chambers, and thoſe employed in them, ſhould be ſuppreſſed: that twelve directors ſhould be named out of the proprietors of the city of Paris, who ſhould have furniſhed at leaſt 30000 livres of a new fund for their part of the ſupplement, in place of thoſe proprietors who had not paid up their fourth. That the ſums requiſite, which were to be delivered at the general board of the company, ſhould be paid to thoſe twelve officers; and that they alone ſhould have the adminiſtration and general direction of them. That thoſe proprietors who ſhould not have paid up their fourth, as had been ordained, ſhould forfeit the intereſts and capitals which they had in the company; and that thoſe who in their default ſhould pay up this ſum in two years without intereſt, be ſubſtituted in their rights.

This regulation was confirmed by a declaration of the king, of the month of February 1685; wherein the king adds, that he leaves to the company the liberty of keeping in ſovereignty the iſle Dauphine, or of reſtoring it to him, in their own option. Altho' they had given it up in the year 1670, as a burthenſome poſſeſſion, and that the ſovereign council had been transfer-

red to Surat, the king was ſtill willing to give them their choice; but they did not heſitate to abandon it entirely; and their renounciation was ratified by an arret of the 4th of June 1686.

This change and reform which the company had made in their adminiſtration ſomewhat revived their hopes. It received additional increaſe by the treaty concluded between the king of Siam and Lewis XIV. by the means of Monſ. Conſtance, miniſter of the Indian prince, and Monſ. de Chaumont our embaſſador, the 10th of December 1685. If theſe conventions had been ſincere on the part of the king of Siam, the catholick religion and commerce would very ſoon have made great progreſs in his eſtates. But thoſe flatterers who had pretended the ſending mandarins on behalf of the king of Siam, who they ſaid was willing to make an alliance with France, and to embrace chriſtianity, made very little ado about the ſmall ſucceſs of our embaſſy, or of the execution of the treaty which had been concluded; for it never took place with reſpect to either of the two articles which were the object of it.

This was not the only blow which the company received at that time. One of the principal articles of their commerce conſiſted in cloths of cotton, white or painted, and in ſtuffs worked with gold or ſilver, which they imported into France. They even cauſed theſe cotton cloths to be painted at home in the manner of the Indies. The novelty of theſe ſorts of goods, and the cheapneſs of them in the country, procured them a pro-

a prodigious ſale, and ſunk the price of moſt part of the manufactures of the kingdom.

However deſirous the king was to protect the company, he could not diſpenſe with putting a ſtop to the hurt which this trade did to that of France. On the remonſtrances addreſſed to him on the part of the farmers general, merchants and manufacturers, he gave an arret of the 27th of January 1687, forbidding the uſe of painted cottons of whatever fabrick they might be. I confine myſelf to relate the enacting clauſes: "His majeſty grants leave to the company to have painted, if they think proper, the white cloths ſold by them in the month of October laſt preceding, as alſo thoſe they have ſince received, or may receive during this preſent year, by the ſhips they have ſent to the Indies 1685, and 1686, till and including the laſt of December 1688 only; till which time the molds ſerving for the painting of the ſaid cottons ſhall not be broken, and that the ſaid cottons may be ſold and retailed freely without incurring the penalties impoſed by our arret; which time expired, and reckoning from the 1ſt of January 1689, all manufactures eſtabliſhed in the kingdom for the painting of cottons ſhall ceaſe, and the molds and utenſils be broken, with prohibition to repair them. His majeſty likewiſe grants leave to the company to ſell all painted cottons of the Indies which they have imported, or which ſhall be imported on their account, till the laſt of December 1687 incluſive, and to ſuch merchants as ſhall have bought them to retail, till the ſaid laſt of December 1688 in-

cluſive, his majeſty expreſsly prohibits the ſaid company to import, ſell, or retail in this kingdom, any painted cottons, under the penalties mentioned in our arret of the 26th of October laſt preceding. Thoſe which ſhall be found remaining in the hands of the merchants on the laſt of December 1688, ſhall be taken back by the directors of the company at their price on the ſales, to be by them exported forth of the kingdom; and with reſpect to ſtuffs of ſilk, gold, ſilver, and barks of trees of the Indies, and of China, his majeſty grants leave to the company to continue to trade in them, and to import to the amount of 150000 livres yearly; as alſo to import all manner of white cottons, excepting ſuch as are prohibited by our arret of the 26th of October laſt, and all other ſorts of wares and merchandizes of the produce of the countries in this grant, on payment of the duties ſettled by the tarif of the month of September 1664 only; which ſhall be alſo obſerved with reſpect to the painted cottons which the company is permitted to import till the laſt of December next enſuing; and all this, notwithſtanding what is contained in our arrets of the 15th and 26th of October preceding, on condition always of performing the engagements entered into by the ſaid directors, of ſending out goods of the manufacture of France to the amount of 500000 livres yearly. His majeſty prohibits the farmers of the united farms and all others to exact any other or greater duties than thoſe mentioned by the ſaid tarif, under the penalty of being puniſhed as extortioners."

The farmers general, who had obtained this arret, ſaw it put in execution with all the ſeverity imaginable. In the beginning of the year 1689, abſolute orders being iſſued to break all the molds for painting of cottons, it became requiſite to effectuate the engagements which the company had entered into, to take back the painted cottons ſold to the merchants. They alledged different excuſes, in virtue whereof they obtained a farther delay of three months. But at laſt it became neceſſary to put them in execution; and all the favour which the king granted them, was to permit them to reimburſe the merchants in four equal payments, from three months to three months, taking back the goods unſold, at the ſame price as they had bought them. From this time forwards, the company was not permitted to ſell painted cottons in the kingdom, except by extraordinary graces, ſuch as thoſe granted them in 1701 and 1702, when they received from the Indies 7964 pieces of painted cottons, carpets and coverlets, and 1541 pieces made of bark of trees. They were permitted to ſell them at Nantes; and thoſe merchants who ſhould buy them, to retail them for a year after their being marked. This prohibition was ſo much the more prejudicial to the company, as there was very conſiderable profit to be made on all ſorts of cottons, eſpecially ſuch as had been bought of Indian private merchants.

With reſpect to ſtuffs of ſilk, gold, and ſilver, we have ſeen by the foregoing arret, that permiſſion had been granted to import and vend

in the kingdom, to the amount of 150000 livres yearly, on condition that they exported to the Indies the manufactures of France to the extent of 500000 livres. This permiſſion, which had been confirmed by different arrets, was abſolutely revoked in 1702, by a declaration which at the ſame time prohibited the company to export into the countries of their grant, any other merchandize of France, than thoſe which they might ſell there to moſt advantage.

The caſe was not the ſame with reſpect to white cottons and muſlins. The permiſſion granted the company in 1687, to continue to trade in them, has been extended to the year 1719, and always with the formality of the mark, but which could not but be very advantageous for the company, ſince it was invented with no other view than to hinder the ſale of any other cottons in the kingdom, than thoſe of the company. Notwithſtanding their effects were ſometimes marked with the leads of the farmers general, or of the intendant of Britany, when they had no permiſſion granted them to import a determinate number of cottons or ſtuffs. It is to be remarked, that the company of the Indies did not experience thoſe affecting changes, till after the death of Monſ. Colbert, which happened in 1683. It appears that at that time (under M. de Pont-Chartrain,) the general farms enjoyed the good graces of the court; this is evident from the moſt part of the arrets given with reſpect to the affairs diſputed between the two companies, during the miniſtry of this comptroller general.

Theſe

Theſe diſputes about rights and privileges, broke out with animoſity in 1700, when the company were briſkly attacked by the farmers general, who intended this proceſs as plaintiffs. The arret which intervened on the 2d of November on this ſubject, informs us of all the particulars of the hiſtory of this conteſt, which have any relation to this trade.

M. Thomas Templier, farmer of the united general farms of his majeſty, preſented a requeſt to the king, praying that it might pleaſe him to give order that the goods of the Eaſt-India company, arriving at Port Lewis, ſhould be there marked and leaded, in order to be viewed at their arrival at Nantes. That maſters of veſſels ſhould be obliged to make their reports of them at the cuſtom-houſe of Nantes, and to produce their invoices and land permits; and that after waiting till they ſhould be unpacked and ſearched, they ſhould be diſcharged in preſence of the commiſſaries of the ſaid Templier, and lodged in the warehouſes of the company of the Indies under two keys, whereof the commiſſaries of Templier were to have one. That thoſe goods ſhould be ſubjected to the duties of the provoſtſhip of Nantes, and all others united to the five great farms, which are payable at Ingrande in Anjou, over and above the duties of the tarif of 1664. That the ſaid company ſhould be obliged to pay the duties upon iron bought for the building of their ſhips.

To this requeſt, which tended to deſtroy the company of the Indies, the directors oppoſed another, in which they prayed the king to give

order that the 44th article of the edict of the eſtabliſhment of the ſaid company of the month of Auguſt 1664, and the arrets given in conſequence thereof, concerning the privileges of the ſaid company, might be executed according to their form and tenor. And further, that the goods of the company ſhould be diſcharged at l'Orient, at Port Lewis, and at Nantes, as uſual, and without being ſubject to be ſearched and leaded, or any other formalities to which the ſaid Templier pretended right: that the company might not be obliged to pay for the goods at their ſales, in whatever place they were ſold, other or greater duties in lieu of all duties inwards and of the united farms, than thoſe of the tarif of 1664, and that only for the goods mentioned in the ſaid tarif, and three per cent. for ſuch as are not expreſſed therein, in purſuance of the arret of the 22d of November 1692. To condemn Templier and his ſecurities to make payment and reſtitution to the company of the ſum of eighteen thouſand and odd livres, which had been paid for the duties of the provoſtſhip of Nantes, according to the diſcharge of the receiver, and all other ſums received by them, or by their commiſſaries and overſeers, as well for the ſaid duty of provoſtſhip, as for all the re-united duties of Ingrande, together with the intereſts of the ſaid ſums, from the day in which payment was made of them. To which effect they ſhall be conſtrained by all methods, as lawful truſtees or depoſitaries; diſcharging the farmers of the united farms, their commiſſaries and overſeers, to exact any thing of the company

in

in lieu of the ſaid duties in all time coming, no more than for iron and other goods which they ſhall buy or cauſe to be bought for their account, to be made uſe of in building, careening, equipping, and victualling their ſhips.

The report of theſe two requeſts being heard by Monſ. de Chamillard, comptroller general of the finances, (M. de Pont-Chartrain being then chancellor) the king in council ordained, That the directors of the company of the Indies, or their commiſſaries and overſeers, ſhall be obliged to furniſh to the commiſſaries of his majeſty's farms at Port Lewis, or other ports of the province of Britany, where the ſhips of the company of the Indies ſhall arrive, a copy of the bills of lading of the ſaid ſhips; and to deliver at the board of his majeſty's general farms at Paris, a copy of the invoices of the cargoes imported from the Indies in the ſaid ſhips, the whole certified under the hands of the directors; which being performed, the commiſſaries of the farms of Port Lewis, or elſewhere, may not ſearch nor lead any bales, parcels, or caſes, in which goods ſhall have been imported, but ſhall be allowed only to be preſent at the delivery of the ſaid goods, if they ſee cauſe: that ſuch goods being tranſported by ſea or land from Port Lewis to Nantes, ſhall there be warehouſed at their arrival, in the warehouſes of the company of the Indies, under the key of the directors only; at the delivery of which goods at Nantes, the commiſſaries of the farms may alſo be preſent, without the directors, commiſſaries, or overſeers of the company of the Indies

Indies being obliged to advertiſe or wait on them; provided, however, that the maſters of veſſels ſhall be obliged to produce to the commiſſaries of the farms at Nantes, when they arrive there, copies of their bills of lading, and the carriers over land, copies of their land permits; that as well the maſters of veſſels as land carriers, ſhall make the uſual declarations of the goods with which they are loaded, and that after the ſales, the diſpatches depending on the commiſſaries of the farms ſhall be delivered as uſual. As alſo his majeſty ordains, that the goods of the ſaid company arriving at Nantes by ſea, ſhall pay the duties of the provoſtſhip of Nantes, according to the pancarte or tarif of the ſaid duties, which ſhall be determined by the weight, at the rate of two ſous ſix deniers the load of 150 pounds weight, and wools of Boulan, ſtuffs of barks of trees, ſilk handkerchiefs, rice, ſandal wood, ſapan wood, terra merita, cottons; ſpiceries, ſuch as cinnamon, nutmegs, cloves, pepper, amber, and muſk; on cowries, canes, cravats ſtriped with ſilk thread, muſlins wrought with thread and ſilk. And at the rate of the fortieth part of the value on cotton thread, horſe hides, raw ſilk, ſtuffs all of ſilk, cotonis, and chuquelas, taffetas, armoſins, belts and garters of ſilk, and ſtuffs of atelas with flowers of gold: that the ſaid merchandizes of the company of the Indies ſhall pay likewiſe the duties of *Pariſis*, twelve and ſix deniers in paſſing at Ingrande, as local duties, over and above the duties of the tarif of 1664; and as to what remains, that the company of the Indies ſhall enjoy an exemption

emption from all duties inwards and outwards for warlike ſtores, proviſions, and all other things neceſſary for the building, victualling, armament, and careening of the ſhips which they ſhall equip; the whole conform to the 43d article of the edict of eſtabliſhment of the ſaid company of the Indies, of the month of Auguſt 1664, and to the ſaid arret of council of the 30th of September 1665. Done in council, &c.

This oppoſition of Meſſieurs the farmers general to the company of the Indies, diſcovered itſelf more openly, and prevailed immediately after the death of Monſ. Colbert, it's founder and protector. It is true, that by the arret of it's eſtabliſhment in 1664, the king had not entirely exempted them from the duties inwards; but he had fixed them ſo low, that they could not look upon them as burthenſome. According to the tarif then ſettled, they were to pay eighteen ſous per piece on cottons, meaſuring ten aulnes, or ells, only, and other goods were taxed in proportion. With reſpect to thoſe imported afterwards, and which had not been comprehended in the tarif, the duty was fixed upon ſuch at three per cent. This impoſition appeared too gentle to the farmers general. They preſented a new memorial to the council, which gave them a favourable hearing, and granted all their demands.

The 30th of April 1686, three years after the death of Monſ. Colbert, they obtained an arret, bearing; That from that day forwards, there ſhould be paid, over and above the duties of the tarif of 1664, ſix livres on each piece of cottons

of

of ten aulnes in length, and four livres per pound weight on coverlets, pieces for waiſtcoats, and other manufactures of cotton, at importation, on pain of confiſcation of the ſaid merchandizes which ſhould be landed in any ports other than thoſe which had been preſcribed.

On the 15th of October of the ſame year, a ſecond arret was given, which ordained, that from that day forwards, there ſhould be paid, over and above the duties of the tarif of 1664, at importation into the realm, twenty livres per aulne on ſtuffs of ſilk, wrought with gold and ſilver; eight livres per aulne on ſmall ſtuffs of wrought ſilk and mixed with gold and ſilver; fifty ſous per aulne on taffetas and ſattins unmixed, and thirty ſous per aulne on ſtuffs of ſilk and bark of trees unmixed.

Laſtly, the arret of the 26th of October of the ſame year, and whereof we have already ſpoken, prohibits the importation and manufacturing of all ſorts of painted cottons, as well as of ſtuffs of ſilk of the Indies and of China, with gold and ſilver flowers, and the wearing of all theſe merchandizes in the kingdom, on pain of three thouſand livres fine, payable by the wearer. All theſe arrets, and others, were explained and renewed by a long declaration of the 13th of July 1700, wherein the king grants the company leave to import from the Indies to the amount of 150000 livres, of ſilk, or gold and ſilver ſtuffs, yearly, which may be ſold and vended in the kingdom, after being marked, on condition that they export yearly to the amount of 500000 livres of goods manufactured

manufactured in France. They are alſo permitted to import yearly to the amount of 150000 livres in painted cottons and ſtuffs of barks of trees, in order to be re-exported, without being ſuffered to ſell them to the merchants of France, even on condition of their re-exporting them, a thing always permitted heretofore.

To render the execution of this arret the more ſtrict, his majeſty prohibits all perſons of whatever quality or condition, to uſe, wear, or make any manner of garments or furniture of bark of trees, or painted cottons; and all taylors, mantua-makers, upholſterers, and brokers, to uſe or have in their cuſtody, any painted cottons, or ſtuffs of the bark of trees, on pain of confiſcation, three thouſand livres of fine, loſs of their freedom, and being rendered incapable of exerciſing the ſaid trades; and 150 livres of fine to be paid by perſons found wearing garments of theſe ſorts of ſtuffs, or who ſhall have in their poſſeſſion any furniture made of them. Laſtly, the king ordains, that the judges of the police ſhall make ſearch throughout the kingdom, in the houſes of merchants, dealers, taylors, upholſterers, and brokers; and that all ſtuffs of ſilk, or mixed with ſilk or ſilver, of the manufacture of the Indies, found unmarked, as alſo painted cottons, or ſtuffs of bark, in pieces, garments, or furniture, ſhall be confiſcated and burnt.

While theſe conteſts were carried on, the company changed the ſeat of their juriſdiction in the Indies. The Dutch, jealous of their eſtabliſhing a trade which they wanted to engroſs to themſelves,

ſelves, ſent an army to attack the company's garriſon at Pondicherry, which they had conquered, and where they intended to eſtabliſh their principal factory. The courage of a hundred and fifty men, could not reſiſt the continual aſſaults of the enemy. They made an honourable capitulation, and evacuated the place. But it was rendered back five years afterwards in 1697, by the eighth article of the treaty of Ryſwick, as we ſhall ſee below.

The company having again taken poſſeſſion of ſo advantageous a poſt for commerce, becauſe it is ſituated on the middle of the coaſt of Coromandel, and near the great iſlands, reſolved to eſtabliſh here their principal factory once more. Heretofore it had been at Surat, as well as the ſovereign council, by the arret of 1671. But as this city was four hundred leagues diſtant from Pondicherry, on the oppoſite coaſt of Malabar, the company thought proper to create in this laſt a new ſovereign council, on which ſhould depend the factories of Ougli, Bellezor, Kaſumbazar, Cabripatan, Maſulipatan, and others in the kingdom of Bengal, and along the coaſt of Coromandel.

For this effect his majeſty granted letters patent, bearing; That he conſtituted a ſovereign council in the city of Pondicherry, for the diſtribution of juſtice in civil and criminal matters, to all his ſubjects inhabiting that city and its dependencies, and in general all the factories depending thereon: that this council ſhould be compoſed of the directors general of the company, in caſe there were any reſiding in the city and fort of Pondicherry,

and

and in their abſence, to conſiſt of the director general of this factory, and the merchants of the company there reſiding: that theſe directors, or merchants, ſhould do juſtice in civil and criminal matters, in court, and on the days and hours fixed for that purpoſe: that the ſentences paſſed by three of them in civil matters, ſhould be held and reputed ſovereign ſentences, and executed as arrets of the company, without appeal: that with reſpect to criminal actions, they ſhould be drawn up and tried in common form by the ſaid directors and merchants to the number of five, and not under: that the heads of particular factories ſhould be empowered to execute judgement in matters as well civil as criminal, in the firſt inſtance, reſerving an appeal to the ſovereign council: that the ſieurs Francis Martin, knight of the order of St. Lazar and Mount Carmel, commandant of the city, fort, and habitation of Pondicherry, and director general of the company; Francis de Flacourt, Pierre le Pheliponnat, de Chalonge, and Claude de Boivin d'Hardancourt, merchants for the company in the factory of Pondicherry, ſhall be inſtituted and commiſſioned there to hold the ſovereign council, and to render to the French there inhabiting, juſtice, in matters as well civil as criminal, wherewith they are charged in honour and conſcience: that they ſhall be empowered to commiſſion ſuch perſons as they ſhall think proper to take in the name of the king and for the intereſt of the publick, as well in civil as criminal matters, the neceſſary requiſitions, as likewiſe a recorder, to receive and make out their ſentences,

and

and all other acts of juſtice: that theſe ſentences ſhall run in the name of the king, and be ſealed with the arms of France, and a ſeal like that of the ſovereign council at Surat; which ſeal ſhall be placed in the hands of the ſaid ſieur Martin, who ſhall be the keeper thereof, and in his abſence the ſenior member of the council. Laſtly, that the general directors of the company of the Indies, ſhall be empowered to recall the ſaid ſieur Martin, de Flacourt, le Pheliponnat, and others, when they ſhall ſee cauſe, on condition of preſenting others to the king, who ſhall be eſtabliſhed by his majeſty on their nomination. Theſe letters bear date in the month of February 1701.

While the company of the Indies were employed in France in defending their rights and privileges againſt the farmers general, they were likewiſe obliged to ſupport them againſt the high admiral, the count of Thoulouſe. This firſt office of the marine being ſuppreſſed in 1626 and 1627, and not revived until 1683, no regard was paid to it in the arret of 1664, for the eſtabliſhment of the company. On the contrary, it would ſeem proviſion had been made for the advantage of this laſt againſt the difficulties which might ariſe, ſhould the admiralty be re-eſtabliſhed, as it was 19 years after in 1683, in favour of the count of Thoulouſe. The 39th article of the arret of 1664, bears in effect: "That if any captures are made by the ſhips of the company on the enemies of the ſtate, and in the ſeas of the ceded countries, they ſhall belong to them, and ſhall be judged by the officers eſtabliſhed in the places of

of the ſaid countries, whither they can moſt conveniently be carried according to the ordonnances of the marine." The 43d article ſays: "That their ſhips and merchandizes ſhall be exempt from the duties of the admiralty, and *de bris*, that is to ſay, ſhips wrecked."

In 1707, the count of Thouloufe oppoſed theſe two privileges of the company, which they had enjoyed ever ſince their eſtabliſhment. He preſented a memorial to the king's council, importing, that it might pleaſe his majeſty to ordain for the time to come, that the managers of the ſhips of the ſaid company ſhould be obliged to execute the ordonnance of the marine in 1681, as to what regards them: that the ſhips of the ſaid company ſhall not ſet ſail from the ports of France without leave or commiſſion from the admiral, under pain of confiſcation; and that the tenth of all the prizes taken or to be taken by the ſhips of the company, ſhall be paid to him conformable to the ſame ordonnance of 1681. In a ſecond memorial, the high admiral, perſiſting in thoſe demands, alledged that the maſters or captains of the company's ſhips ſhould be obliged at their return from each voyage, to make a report to the admiralty, and to deliver up the papers and priſoners of the prizes they ſhould have taken, to the officers of the admiralty, that they might proceed therein after the uſual manner. The company anſwered theſe two memorials by pleading the privileges which had been granted at their eſtabliſhment, and the peaceable poſſeſſion whereof they had enjoyed ever ſince.

His majeſty determined this difference, and ordained by an arret of the 26th of November 1707, that the ordonnance of the marine, of the month of Auguſt 1681, ſhall be executed according to it's form and tenor, by the ſhips of the company of the Eaſt-Indies; and conſequently, that the captains, writers, and other officers of the ſaid veſſels, ſhould be obliged to take out licences and commiſſions of war, to make their report to the officers of the admiralty, to deliver up the papers and priſoners found in the prizes, in order to proceed therein, and generally to conform to what is preſcribed by the ſaid ordonnance, as it is practiſed by all the other ſhips of his majeſty's ſubjects. As to what concerns the tenth of the prizes, his majeſty having regard to the edict of 1664, confirmed by the declaration of the month of February 1685, maintains and confirms the ſaid company in the exemption from the admiral's tenth of the prizes which have been taken by them before, or ſhall be taken afterwards beyond the line only. And with reſpect to the prizes which have been, or ſhall be taken, on this ſide the line, his majeſty declares them ſubject to the ſaid duty, conformable to the ordonnance of 1681, with conſent of the company, which his majeſty has moreover confirmed and maintained in their privileges and exemptions.

But the merchants aſſociated to the company of the Eaſt-Indies, were not comprehended in that arret which granted them an immunity from the tenth. They remonſtrated to them the prejudice this ſubjection to the tenth would occaſion to

to them, and that it was their intereſt they ſhould likewiſe be effranchiſed from it. This occaſioned the company's addreſſing a requeſt to the king, in which they repreſented to him the bad condition of their affairs, and the impoſſibility of continuing their commerce, if it was not ſupported; therefore they ſupplicated his majeſty, that the exemption from the tenth which had been granted them, ſhould likewiſe have place for the prizes taken, or to be taken by the ſhips of thoſe with whom they had contracted to navigate and traffick in the ceded countries. This requeſt was communicated to the count of Thouloufe, who, more anxious for the publick good, than his own intereſt, conſented to all the company required, provided that, it ſhould be acknowledged, that in quality of admiral, he had a right to exact the tenth, that his generoſity might not be prejudicial to thoſe of that office with which he was inveſted. The ceſſion he made, for this time only, was declared and confirmed by an arret of the 3d of September 1712.

The low condition to which the company ſaw themſelves reduced, was ſufficient cauſe for their petitioning the prince for ſome eaſe of the ſeverity of the arrets which had been given againſt them. They repreſented, that they would be neceſſitated to give over the trade, and the proprietors ruined, if they were not permitted to vend and retail in the kingdom muſlins and white cottons, which were one of the beſt parts of their trade, and which did no prejudice to France. The king gave his conſent by an arret of the 10th of December

1709, granting them permiſſion to vend theſe ſorts of cottons in the kingdom, where the liberty of wearing them ſhould be reſtored; on condition however, that they ſhould be marked in the manner accuſtomed, leſt the private merchants ſhould ſell cottons bought from foreigners. But ſtuffs of ſilk wrought with gold and ſilver, as alſo thoſe of the bark of trees, were ſtill prohibited, and even forbid by new arrets. Notwithſtanding the importation of unwrought ſilks was ſtill allowed, on which was impoſed a duty of ſeven ſous, ſix deniers per pound weight, for the uſe of the farmers general. But two years after, in 1714, theſe joined themſelves with the deputies of the chamber of commerce of Marſeilles, and the general ſyndic of the province of Languedoc, to petition the prohibition of all manner of ſilks and ſilk manufactures of the Indies, whereof they had imported heretofore from ſix to ſeven thouſand livres yearly.

Mean time the company's privilege was near at an end, which had been granted them in 1664 for fifty years. The directors repreſented to the king, that in order to put them into a condition of paying the debts which they had contracted to ſupport the trade, they moſt humbly prayed him to extend their privilege ten years longer. His majeſty granted their requeſt, with this reſtriction only, that the tenths of all prizes taken by the company's ſhips, or thoſe of their aſſociates beyond the line, ſhould henceforwards belong to the high admiral of France. This arret, which is of the 29th of September 1714, renews the pro-

prohibition againſt importing into the kingdom any painted cottons, or ſtuffs of ſilk unmixed, of ſilk and cotton mixed with gold and ſilver, of bark of trees, and unwrought ſilk, even under pretext of exporting them abroad.

Two years afterwards, in 1716, were included a ſecond time in that prohibition, white cottons and muſlins, which was a very great prejudice to the company.

So many repeated blows announced their decline and total downfal. In 1682 they had already permitted private merchants to ſend goods into the Indies, on condition that they ſhould be tranſported in the company's bottoms, and on paying the freight only. In 1708, uſing every method to diſcharge their debts, they conſented that M. Croiſat ſhould equip two ſhips in the name of the company of the Indies, to whom he was to pay fifteen per cent. on the ſale of the goods, without any deduction of the king's duties, and two per cent. on ſuch prizes as he ſhould take beyond the line; the company reſerving to themſelves the liberty of importing in theſe ſhips to the amount of ten tons of India goods. Laſtly, in 1712, they were obliged to renounce their trade entirely, and to abandon it to the merchants of St. Malo, in hopes that the benefit which ſhould redound to them from it, in conſequence of their agreement, ſhould enable them to diſcharge the whole, or part, of more than ten millions of debts which they had contracted, as well in the Indies as in France. Thus when they petitioned the renewal of their privilege in 1714,

it was not with a deſign to make uſe of it themſelves, but to cauſe it to be carried on by others, and to draw ſome advantage from their advances and gains.

But this remedy was not equal to the greatneſs of the evil: there was a neceſſity of having recourſe to another more ſolid and efficacious, I mean the formation of a new ſociety. Beſides the company of the Eaſt-Indies, there were three others eſtabliſhed in the kingdom: that of China, that of the Weſt or America, and that of Senegal or Cape Verd, by which our ſhips enter Nigretia from the ocean. As theſe ſeparate companies had had little ſucceſs, it was believed that as theirs extended to the four quarters of the world, a general company which ſhould have an equal privilege with all the others, and ſhould act on the ſame principles, would ſucceed much better, and procure very great advantages to France. Nothing can be better drawn up than the edict given for the union of theſe four companies, in May 1719. As I have already given that of 1664, for the eſtabliſhment of the Eaſt-India company, I am now going to preſent the reader with that of the company of the Indies, ſuch as it ſubſiſts at this day, as being more intereſting than the firſt.

LOUIS by the grace of God, king of France and of Navarre: to all preſent and to come, HEALTH. Since our acceſſion to the crown, we have made it our buſineſs to repair the draining of the ſtate by the long wars in which it has been engaged, and to procure to our ſubjects that

plenty

plenty and happineſs which they deſerve. We obſerve with ſatisfaction the quick circulation of money, and the reſtoring of trade. But we are reſolved not to reſt ſatisfied with theſe advantages. The credit of the Weſt-India company, altho' lately ſettled, has determined us to examine the ſituation of the ancient companies; and we have with grief obſerved, that notwithſtanding the benefactions they received from the liberality of the late king, our moſt honoured lord, and great-grandfather, they have not been able to ſupport themſelves. The company of the Eaſt-Indies, eſtabliſhed by the edict of the month of Auguſt 1664, inſtead of employing for the aggrandizement of trade the excluſive privilege which had been granted them for fifty years running, and the repeated ſuccours in money and ſhips given them by the late king, after having contracted debts both in France and the Indies, have totally abandoned their navigation, and have reſolved to yield their privilege to private merchants, upon payment of ten per cent. on the product of their ſales in France, and five per cent. on prizes, and retaining fifty livres per ton on goods exported, and ſeventy-five livres on goods imported, which had been granted them by way of gratification. We are ſenſible that their want of ſucceſs has not at all been owing to the nature of this trade, but to their bad management; and that this company, like thoſe of neighbouring ſtates, might have rendered this commerce of advantage both to the proprietors and the nation. This enterprize had been formed with a capital inſufficient to carry it

on. The directors have deſtroyed one part of thoſe funds by too haſty dividends, at a time when there were no profits; and to ſupply theſe deficiencies, they had borrowed money upon the places at exceſſive intereſt, even to ten per cent. and at other times had borrowed money on bottomry, at the rate of five per cent. per month; ſo that the profits of the trade were exhauſted and below the charge they were at in carrying it on. Nevertheleſs, notwithſtanding this bad management, the late king, always continuing the protection he had granted this company, and with the view to put them into condition of paying their debts, has granted by the declaration of 1714, the continuation of their privilege for ten years, to commence from the firſt of April 1715. But inſtead of fulfilling ſo laudable an object, the Indians have laid before us repeated complaints, that the company paid them neither principal nor intereſt; and that for more than ſixteen years paſt they had not ſent one ſhip to Surat. Thus this commerce languiſhing for ſeveral years, began to be entirely ruined, if care had not been taken, becauſe thoſe private merchants who had purchaſed the privilege from the company, being charged with the payment of ten per cent. to them, could not carry on this trade in concurrence with foreigners; and moreover, for fear of having their ſhips ſeized for the company's debts, they durſt not ſend their ſhips to Surat, a principal city of the mogul's country, from whence they had their cotton, wool, and cotton thread, and almoſt all the drugs and ſpiceries of India and Arabia; ſo

that

that our ſubjects are obliged to bring from other countries the moſt part of the goods of the Indies conſumed in the nation, and thoſe proper for the trade of Guinea and Senegal, which they bought at treble the value, and ſo were for ever deprived of the advantage of buying theſe ſorts of merchandizes in the kingdom. We have alſo been informed, that the ſeparate company of China, eſtabliſhed by the arret of our council of the 28th of November 1712 (*n*), and which formerly had been included in the grant of the ſaid company of the Indies, have made no uſe of the excluſive privilege which had been given them; and that this company is in ſtill greater diſorder, if poſſible, than that of the Indies. We ſhould think ourſelves wanting to the duties which we owe to ourſelves and our ſubjects, in ſuffering ſuch diſorder any longer to ſubſiſt in one of the moſt conſiderable branches of traffick in our kingdom; and we are alſo of opinion, that it is for the advantage and good of our ſtate to re-eſtabliſh and advance the French trade in the Indies, and to preſerve the honour of the nation in paying thoſe people their debts contracted by the company. For this effect, we have reſolved to ſuppreſs the privileges granted to the companies of the Indies and of China, and to unite them to that of the Weſt. The eſtabliſhment of this company ſettled ſome time ago, the protection which we have given them, their prudent management, the credit which they have acquired, the conſider-

(*n*) The king ſpeaks of a ſecond company, which ſucceeded that whereof I have ſpoken.

able

able funds which they will poſſeſs by the unanimous conjunction of theſe different companies; all theſe and many other advantages cauſe us to believe, that we could not truſt the trade of the Indies, and of China, to better hands. Moreover, by this means, and by the union made between this company and that of the Weſt, and Senegal, we unite in one ſole company the trade carried on to the four quarters of the world. This company will have within itſelf every thing neceſſary for carrying on theſe different branches of trade; they will import into our kingdom things neceſſary, uſeful, and convenient; they will export the ſuperfluous to foreign countries; they will increaſe navigation, and form officers, pilots, and ſailors; and as their whole management will be regulated by the ſame maxims, there will ariſe union and oeconomy, on which depends the ſucceſs of all mercantile enterprizes. FOR THESE CAUSES, and others us thereto moving, by the advice of our moſt dear and well-beloved uncle the duke of Orleans, grandſon of France, regent, of our moſt dear and well-beloved uncle the duke of Chartres, firſt prince of our blood, of our moſt dear and well-beloved couſin the duke of Bourbon, prince of our blood, of our moſt dear and well-beloved uncle the count of Thouloufe, lawful prince, and other peers of France, great and notable perſonages of our realm; and by our certain knowledge, full power, and royal authority, we have by this preſent edict, perpetual, and irrevocable, enacted, ſtatuted, and ordained, and enact, ſtatute, and ordain, will, and our pleaſure is:

I. That

I. That all privileges granted to the company of the Indies, and to that of China, ſhall remain extinct, revoked, and ſuppreſſed.

II. We have granted, and do grant to the company of the Weſt, the ſole privilege excluſive of all our other ſubjects, to trade from the Cape of Good Hope, in and through all the ſeas of the Eaſt-Indies, iſles of Madagaſcar, Bourbon, and France, coaſt of Sofala in Africa, the Red-ſea, Perſia, Mogul, Siam, China, and Japan; as alſo from the ſtraits of Magellan and le Maire into all the South-ſeas.

III. We prohibit all others our ſubjects to carry on any manner of trade in the ſaid places, on pain of confiſcation, for our uſe, of the ſhips, arms, ſtores, and merchandizes.

IV. We give and yield to the company of the Weſt in abſolute property, the lands, iſles, forts, habitations, magazines, moveables, immoveables, rents, ſhips, barks, warlike ſtores, proviſions, negroes, beaſtial, merchandizes, and in general, all that the company of the Eaſt-Indies, and that of China, have acquired, or conquered, or which has been yielded to them, as well in France, as in the Indies, and in China. . . On condition of making payment as well to the French as Indians, all lawful debts of the companies of the Eaſt-Indies and of China. . .

VI. To enable the company of the Weſt to ſatisfy the creditors of that of the Eaſt, as well in France as in the Indies, and for the future to carry their commerce to all the extent it ought to have, a thing which cannot be done but by the help

help of conſiderable funds, we have permitted and do permit them to make to the amount of twenty-five millions of new actions, which cannot be bought except for ready money only, and on payment to the caſhier of the ſaid company of the Weſt five hundred and fifty livres for each action; the which ſhall be of the ſame nature with the hundred millions of the company of the Weſt, which are in the publick, and whereof the numeroes ſhall immediately follow the laſt numeroes of the actions which conſtitute the firſt hundred millions; and in conſideration of ten per cent. which the buyers ſhall pay above the par, we will that they enjoy the ſame advantages with the other actions.

IX. We permit the company to import from the countries in their charter, all ſorts of ſtuffs of ſilk and cotton, mixed with gold and ſilver, of bark of trees, cottons dyed, painted and ſtriped. Our will is, that the ſaid merchandizes prohibited in the kingdom ſhall not be ſold, but under expreſs condition of their being exported to parts beyond ſeas; and that to this effect they ſhall be lodged and depoſited in the warehouſes of our general farms under two keys, whereof the farmers general, or their commiſſaries, to have one, and the directors of the company, or their overſeers, another; and uſing all other precautions neceſſary to hinder the ſaid merchandizes from being ſold for the conſumpt of the realm.

X. The ſaid company may alſo import from the countries in their charter, all ſorts of white cottons, raw ſilks, coffee, drugs, ſpiceries, metals,

tals, and others, excepting thoſe prohibited by the preceding article, on paying the duties preſently paid by the company of the Indies, according and conformable to the edicts, declarations, arrets, and regulations.

XI. We will that the company of the Weſt be henceforth named and intituled *The company of the Indies*, and that they bear the ſame arms which the company of the Weſt have uſed heretofore.

XII. We maintain and confirm the ſaid company in all rights and privileges to them granted by the edicts of the months of Auguſt 1664 and 1685, and other declarations, regulations made in favour of their commerce, without exception, as if they had been renewed by theſe preſents, in manner as the company of the Indies enjoys them; excepting ſuch as have been revoked or explained, and without prejudice to the rights of the admiral of France, which he has or ought to enjoy, conformable to the declaration of the 3d of September 1712, and the regulations made in conſequence thereof.

Alſo we give in charge, &c."

This new eſtabliſhment gave ſo advantageous an idea of the company of the Indies, that ſtrangers as well as French were eager to be admitted in the number of the proprietors. Although the king had ordained that actions ſhould not be bought but on the footing of ten per cent. above par, the old ones were in ſo great requeſt, even before the publication of the edict, that they aroſe to a hundred and thirty per cent. and that ſubſcribers undertook for the new, for more than fifty

fifty millions, inſtead of the twenty-five millions, which had been fixed by the edict, his majeſty was obliged to give a new arret in the month of June of the ſame year 1719, to give ſome order to the ſubſcriptions, and to take ſome method to render them more difficult. The third article in effect bears, that beſides the payment of ten per cent. of the total amount of the ſubſcriptions, no perſon ſhould be received to ſubſcribe but who ſhould undertake for four times the amount in old actions, as the ſum for which each proprietor would ſubſcribe in new ones ſhould amount to; ſo that in order to ſubſcribe for five thouſand livres, he muſt undertake for twenty thouſand livres of old actions. Beſides, the book of ſubſcriptions was to be open no longer than twenty days.

The credit and progreſs of the company advanced with ſuch rapidity, that in the ſpace of one year, they found themſelves already in condition to render to the king and ſtate the moſt important ſervices. His majeſty being willing to retire that immenſe quantity of billets which they had been obliged to make in order to carry on the wars of Louis XIV. created to this effect in the month of June 1720, the fund of twenty-five millions of rent of the town-houſe of Paris. But this ſum being ſtill inſufficient to retire all theſe billets which circulated in the trade in a manner very little to it's advantage, the company of the Indies offered to ſupply that deficiency, and to free them at the rate of fifty millions per month, conſecutively, till it ſhould amount to ſix hundred millions of billets; ſo that on the firſt of Auguſt

1721,

1721, there remained none of them in the commerce. All the acknowledgement they aſked was, to enjoy for ever all privileges which concerned their commerce in the different parts of the world where it extended. The king gave publick teſtimony to this generous zeal. He ſays in his arret of the month of July 1720, that having cauſed to examine this propoſal in his council, it appeared to him ſo much the more advantageous, as it put him into a condition, without impoſing any charge on the treaſury or his ſubjects, to compleat the retiring out of the commerce all thoſe billets which had not been diſcharged by the funds of the twenty-five millions of rent which he had created. In conſequence, he granted to the company the perpetual enjoyment of the rights and privileges which had been regulated by the old arrets, and whereof they were in actual poſſeſſion, and gave it the title of *The perpetual company of the Indies.* This edict contains fourteen articles, as flattering as they were advantageous.

Laſtly, two years afterwards it was found and enacted, that the company was in condition to pay for ever without any diminution, ten per cent. on each action. As the funds had been of five hundred livres, the intereſt or the rent was fifty crowns, whereof the dividend has ever been paid with the greateſt exactitude, without regard to the price of actions or the place. The company is not accountable to the proprietors for the detail of what they export or import. One year makes good the deficiencies of another; and the profits ſerve to augment and ſecure the capital of the

the trade, as we ſhall ſee below. Thus it would be the greateſt ignorance and injuſtice to imagine that any part of theſe profits goes into the king's coffers, and that the remainder is divided between the directors and the ſyndics.

Such were the different conditions of the company of the Indies from it's eſtabliſhment to the union of all the companies in 1720. We have ſeen in this hiſtorical account, it's origin, it's privileges, their extenſions and diminutions, by the different arrets of the council, and laſtly, it's decline and re-eſtabliſhment. From this firſt part, which may be called the hiſtory of the company in France, we muſt paſs to it's hiſtory in the East-Indies, where we ſhall ſee the company arrive by degrees to the moſt honourable and ſolid eſtabliſhment imaginable. All I ſhall ſay in the ſequel, ſhall be drawn from the archives and originals themſelves, or from memoirs communicated to me by M. Dumas, who reſided there near thirty years, during which time he was employed in the moſt diſtinguiſhed offices, and at laſt, in that of governor general.

The city of Pondicherry being the ſeat of the French, who poſſeſs it in property, it is neceſſary to begin by the hiſtory of that eſtabliſhment. We ſhall there ſee what I have already remarked, namely, the difference of the title whereby we poſſeſs, and of that whereby all the other European nations poſſeſs the places they occupy. They have ſeized them by violence, deſtruction, expulſion, bloodſhed, and the force of arms, as their own hiſtories teſtify. The French on the contrary

trary have acquired Pondicherry by the gracious and voluntary grant of the prince to whom it belonged, a thing as flattering as advantageous to the nation. In order to render the recital more authentick, I ſhall relate it as I find it in the archives of the company, No. 1.

In 1674, on the 9th of January, meſſieurs Baron and de la Haye, directors of the company in the Eaſt-Indies, perceiving that the Dutch, with whom France was then at war, kept them beſieged by ſea and land at St. Thomas, a city belonging to the Portugueze, beſought the ſieur Martin to go to Pondicherry, in order to wait on Chircam Loudi, governor, or rather maſter of all that country, under the authority of the king of Viſapour, the declared friend of the French nation.

After the ſurrender of St. Thomas, meſſieurs Baron and de la Haye followed him with what troops they had left; and having ſpent ſome time there in order to become acquainted with the place and it's advantages, M. Baron departed for Surat on the 6th of May, leaving about ſixty French behind him, including the crew of the frigate called *la Diligente*. From thence he wrote to the company in France, that being deprived of St. Thomas, Pondicherry might be preferred to many other places on that coaſt; and that if they could obtain the property of the place, they might fortify themſelves there in ſuch a manner as to be afraid of nothing. He and the other directors applied their cares to bring this about.

M. Martin at the end of the year 1675, ſeeing that the condition to which he was reduced in the Indies would not ſuffer him to apply to commerce, that he might not leave the fund the company had there entirely uſeleſs, lent part of it on intereſt to the lord Chircam Loudi, at one and a half per cent. per month, which intereſt ſhould replace part of the charges he had been at. The ſaid ſieur further obſerves, that tho' the company had been ſufficiently advertiſed of the advantages they might expect from the ſettlement of a factory at Pondicherry, he could not diſpenſe with letting them know, that there was no place on the coaſt where they could procure guinées and ſalempouris ſo eaſily and ſo cheap, as at Pondicherry; and that if the company wanted to the value of two hundred thouſand crowns of theſe goods, it would not be difficult to get them together in a year, and even for a greater ſum, provided they had advice from France time enough to take their meaſures beforehand.

In the year 1676, in the month of February, the lord Chircam Loudi who was entirely in the intereſts of the French nation, foreſeeing the diſputes he would have with the brother of the deceaſed regent Caveſcam, governor of Gingy, which is the capital of the province, and his ordinary place of reſidence; and foreſeeing likewiſe that the French who were then at Pondicherry, would not be free from the viſits of the rovers, ſent the ſieur Martin three hundred infantry, to remain there and be at his command; and as the houſe where they and all the French dwelt (without including

cluding a captain and eight horſemen which had been there for ſome time) was ſpacious and defenceleſs, that general wrote to him to fortify it that he might remain there in ſome ſafety, which expence amounted to ſeven hundred crowns.

M. Martin, by his letter of the 17th of January 1677, informs the company, that he had let out in leaſe the Aldée of Paſquinambat, about a quarter of a league from Pondicherry; that it grew more beautiful and populous every day; and that ſince the three months he had been there, in order to direct the building a new village, there were already forty houſes finiſhed; that they ſtill went on building, and that before ſix weeks were at an end, he could draw from thence every month one hundred and fifty pieces of guinées, which would increaſe in proportion as the village was peopled; and that to engage workmen to ſettle there, he had granted them a year of franchiſe, wherein they were to pay no duties, and that the price of the farm was good, conſidering he had cauſed value a great deal of land which had been abandoned.

In the year 1677, on the firſt of October, M. Martin obſerves to the company the great changes that had happened in the province of Gingy; that the lord Chiream Loudi hoping to finiſh the war againſt the duke of Gingy within the year, by making himſelf maſter of the city of Gingy, a place of great importance and of the utmoſt conſideration in the Indies, an unexpected enemy had juſt broken all his meaſures, the execution whereof was of the greateſt advantage to

the company. This enemy was Sivagy, who having become maſter in the kingdom of Golconda, obliged the king to pay him a conſiderable ſum, made an alliance with this prince for the conqueſt of that part of the kingdom of Carnate which belonged to the king of Viſapour, and then marched againſt the city of Gingy. The duke who held this place, and who perceived that his government was far from being ſettled, made his terms in a few days, put the place and all the other lands which he held of the dependencies of Gingy into the hands of Sivagy, in lieu of other lands which they had promiſed to give him in the kingdom of Golconda. Sivagy, ſenſible of his good fortune, after reducing the city of Gingy marched his army againſt Velours, another fortreſs of conſequence, heretofore the abode of the kings of Carnate. The governor who held it for the king of Viſapour having always courageouſly defended himſelf, and ſtill holding out; and Sivagy knowing from experience the vigorous reſiſtance of that governor, and that he was not likely to reduce it ſoon, left troops before the place to block it up; and with the reſt of his army, conſiſting of ten or twelve thouſand horſe, and twenty-five or thirty thouſand foot, marched againſt Chircam, who had then no more than three thouſand horſe and a few thouſand infantry. Chircam, having done every thing that a man of courage could do, and ſeeing that the chance was not equal, was obliged to retire in diſorder, and went to a place called Bounegupamant, where he was beſieged by Sivagy, and Chircam was obliged

liged a few days after, to render up to the conqueror the places which he held for the king of Viſapour, and to pay him the ſum of twenty thouſand pagods. For ſecurity of the payment, he left his ſon as a hoſtage, and retired into the woods diſtant four days journey from Pondicherry, whence he diſpatched ſeveral couriers to the court of Viſapour, to give information of the ſtate of the province.

The ſieur Martin having received advice of the march of Sivagy towards Pondicherry, aſſembled a council to know what meaſures they were to take to ſecure themſelves from the inſults to which they were ſubject by the paſſing of armies; and altho' that prince declared himſelf the friend of his nation, he nevertheleſs took his precautions, and made uſe of a Portugueze ſhip which lay at anchor before Pondicherry to ſend the effects of the company in the Indies to Madras. The ſieur Martin ſeeing that Chircam was in no condition to reſiſt Sivagy, and that the ſmall number of French in Pondicherry were not in condition to aſſiſt this general, took the reſolution to ſend a bramin in the ſervice of the company to viſit Sivagy, and wrote to the prince to congratulate him on his coming into the province, and on his ſucceſs. The bramin had three audiences by means of a friend of his order, who acted as lieutenant general in the army. Complaints were made in theſe audiences of the French nation for what they had done againſt the duke of Gingy; but the envoy gave ſatisfactory anſwers to all, excepting at the ſame

time againſt paying a ſum of money which they demanded of the French nation, and at laſt obtained of Sivagy a caoul, which is an aſſurance, by which the French were allowed to continue at Pondicherry, but on condition that they ſhould remain neuter in all his wars. Sivagy ſome time after drew near to Pondicherry, and being only eight leagues from it, the ſieur Martin ſent the ſieur German to pay him a viſit more in form than the firſt, with one Anthony Cattel a Portugueze linguiſt with ſome preſents: they came to the camp, the preſents were accepted with difficulty, becauſe ſomething of greater value was aſked, and the French were anew confirmed by the letters of Sivagy, in the hopes which they already entertained from the caoul.

In the year 1679, the 18th of February, M. Martin, after having again acquainted the company with all the obligations which the French nation had to Chircam Loudi, told them farther, that this lord had joined a prince of theſe parts, called the Naik of Maravas, and that he had gained ſeveral conſiderable advantages over his enemies; and that the troops of Viſapour were on their march to reduce the province to their duty, and that the king of Golconda was on the eve of loſing a part of his eſtates, for having granted Sivagy paſſage thro' his country: that foreſeeing that all theſe movements might cauſe ſome change in the province, and having no other motive but to ſecure the company's effects, he had preſſed the lord Chircam Loudi to reimburſe him not only of the ſums which he had lent

lent him, but alſo for the intereſts, amounting in all to 69741 rials. By the ſame letter he obſerves, that there were thirty-four Frenchmen in Pondicherry, who were not well employed, but that this number was not amiſs in the place, becauſe of the ſtate of the province, and the jealouſy of the Dutch towards them.

In 1680, the 30th of September, M. Martin ſent the copy of the firman to the company, for the gift whereof he made Sivagy a preſent of 500 pagods, worth 1600 roupies; and obſerves by the ſame letter, that being not able to get payment of the ſums which he had lent to the lord Chircam Loudi, he had obtained of him the ceſſion of the revenue of the lands of the diſtrict of Pondicherry till payment.

In 1686, the 30th of September, after conſidering that all the wars of the country were quieted, and that he was in a very peaceable ſituation, examining the ſmallneſs of the building which was covered only with thatch, he begun two great warehouſes of brick, and other apartments of the ſame, which have ſince been finiſhed.

In 1688, the 27th of September, M. Ceberet, who was then at Pondicherry, having examined the bad condition in which things then were, ſought the means of confirming himſelf there by ſtealth, and begun to fortify himſelf, by erecting a ſtrong wall on the weſtern ſide, which has ſince been continued on the ſouth, as well as the walls on the other ſides of the lodge.

In 1689, the 10th of October, M. Martin uſed his influence with the officers of Sommagy

raïa, to get permiſſion to fortify himſelf entirely in Pondicherry, which was granted him with great difficulty; nevertheleſs, having ſurmounted all obſtacles, he obtained leave to flank the courtins with four towers. About this time he had certain information of the taking and death of Sommagy raïa, ſon of the famous Sivagy raïa, to whoſe dominions he had ſucceeded. That unfortunate prince, having been betrayed by one of his miniſters into an ambuſh laid for him by the troops of the mogul, was afterwards carried before the conqueror, who ordered his eyes to be put out, and his head to be cut off, which was publickly expoſed in ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable cities of the mogul territories: this cruel action compleated the diſorder of the province.

In the ſame year they received advice in the Indies, of war being declared between France and Holland; and the Dutch, tho' not very ſtrong on the coaſt, uſed all their endeavours to take it from the company, foraſmuch as that poſt was a great eye-ſore to them by the ſettlement of its commerce; however, they exerted themſelves to the utmoſt to prevail on the mogul to take it from them; and perceiving that the firſt attack would not be ſufficient to carry it, they were obliged to apply to Ali raïa, general governor of the province, by ſending a deputy to him, with propoſals to pay him a conſiderable ſum of money for the ſubſiſtence of the army of Ranu raïa, ſucceſſor and brother of Sommagy raïa, and to make him beſides large preſents, on condition he would

would abandon Pondicherry to them; but all theſe propoſitions were ineffectual. However, the French did not fail to be on their guard, mounting ſix pieces of cannon on each of the towers where they could all be eaſily managed, and placing barricades at the avenues of thoſe ſtreets which led to the lodge, guarded by the ſoldiers of the country.

In 1690, the 9th of September, the Engliſh and Dutch threatened to cannonade and demoliſh it: and in the year 1691, on the 26th of September, the ſieur Martin perceiving that all their meaſures tended to get poſſeſſion of that poſt, and that they were providing an armament of ſhips, barks, boats and ſloops at Tontoucourin, ſent away all the uſeleſs people to the Portugueze at St. Thomas, who gave them a very kind reception. He beſides got together proviſions and ſome other ſtores, and cauſed raiſe a redoubt on the place where the capuchins had begun to build their houſe: and cauſed fortify another ſpot of ground, where he imagined the enemy might probably make a lodgment.

All theſe preparations continued till 1693, when the Dutch ſate down before Pondicherry, with a force ſufficient to attack the ſtrongeſt place in the Indies. Their ſquadron conſiſted of nineteen ſhips, ſeveral boats, ſloops and ſmall craft of the country; above 1500 regular troops under ſeveral good officers, a great number of ſailors, above 2000 Boughis, Maccaſſars and Cingales were landed, together with fifteen or twenty pieces of cannon carrying eighteen pound,

twenty-

twenty-four field-pieces, ſix mortars, and warlike ſtores much more than were neceſſary to carry the place; beſides which they had obtained the aſſiſtance of the prince of the country, who had ſold them Pondicherry with all its dependencies: this negotiation coſt them above fifty thouſand pagods. Pondicherry was vigorouſly attacked, and after a reſiſtance of ſeveral days, the ſieur Martin, ſeeing it impoſſible to hold out any longer, capitulated on the 6th of September, and obtained honourable terms.

In the beginning of the year 1699, Pondicherry was reſtored to the French company, in conſequence of the treaty of Ryſwick; who ſoon after gave orders to the ſieur Martin to cauſe it to be fortified, and put into a poſture of defence, in caſe a new war ſhould break out. For this purpoſe they ſent thither a great quantity of warlike ſtores, with two hundred French ſoldiers for a garriſon, beſides three hundred which the ſieur Martin had brought from Bengal, part of whom were of the country, and called *Topaſes* ſoldiers: they likewiſe ſent officers to command theſe troops, a commandant and two engineers to raiſe new fortifications, which they propoſed to compleat in three or four years, the expence whereof might amount to 80000 livres.

The ſieur Martin informed the company in the end of 1699, that he had cauſed a hundred houſes to be built in the city, in order to increaſe it and engage the people of the country to reſide there. It is a place of great conſequence, in which there are at preſent, in 1710, above fifty or ſixty thouſand

ſand inhabitants, and will in time become one of the moſt conſiderable cities in the Indies, where there is a proſpect of ſoon finding a large conſumpt for the manufactures of France, and a great vent for wines and ſpirituous liquors.

This place has coſt the company, from 1685 to the preſent year 1710, above eight hundred thouſand livres, and does a great deal of honour to the French nation in the Indies. Here end the memoirs of the archives.

The declining ſtate into which the trade of the company of the Indies afterwards fell, put a ſtop to the projects they had formed to aggrandize and and fortify Pondicherry. In the mean time the number of the houſes and inhabitants increaſing every day, they came to the reſolution to cauſe it to be ſurrounded with walls, and were at one part of the expence themſelves, the inhabitants contributing the reſt, every one being taxed at two ſous per month, or a day's work. This impoſition, tho' moderate, very much facilitated the advancement of the work, which was begun in 1723, and carried on with a great deal of aſſiduity.

The pains which the governors have been at in marking out the ground, and giving directions to each private perſon who aſked leave to build, have inſenſibly formed as regular a city as if it had been traced out at once. The ſtreets are entirely ſtraight; and the principal ſtreet, which runs from ſouth to north, is in length a thouſand toiſes, or half a Pariſian league, and that which croſſed the city in the middle ſix hundred toiſes; the houſes being every where contiguous. The

governor's

governor's is the principal houſe. On the other ſide, towards the weſt, lie the company's gardens, planted with fine alleys of trees which ſerve for publick walks, with a large building richly furniſhed, where foreign princes and ambaſſadors are lodged by appointment of the governor. The jeſuits have a fine houſe, in which are twelve or fifteen prieſts, who teach the youth reading, writing and mathematicks, but latin is not taught at all in the city. There are only two or three prieſts in the houſe of the meſſieurs of the foreign miſſions; and about ſeven or eight in the convent of the capuchins. Some private perſons who are rich are very well accommodated in their houſes, tho' they conſiſt of only one ſtory, as is uſual in moſt of the cities of the province. The gentiles or idolaters have two pagods, which were preſerved at the requeſt of the kings of the country, with bramins or brames, according to the pronunciation of the place. They are poor, but indefatigable and laborious, and in effect are the ſole ſource of the riches of the city and country. Their houſes are commonly eight fathom in length and ſix in breadth, containing above fifteen or twenty perſons; and all ſo dark, that it is difficult to conceive how they are able to carry on their manufactures for want of light. Moſt of them are weavers, painters of ſtuffs, and goldſmiths. They paſs the night in their courts or on the tops of their houſes, lying almoſt naked on a mat; which is indeed common to them with the reſt of the inhabitants. For Pondicherry lying in the twelfth degree of northern latitude,

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and conſequently in the torrid zone, is not only very hot, but, throughout the whole year, it never rains there except for ſeven or eight days at moſt, about the end of October, which indeed conſtantly happens, and is perhaps one of the moſt extraordinary phænomena in nature. The beſt pagan workman does not gain above two ſous a day; which is yet ſufficient to maintain his wife and children. Rice boiled in water, which is very cheap, is their only food; unleavened cakes baked in the aſhes are the only bread they uſe, and that very ſeldom, altho' there is as good bread at Pondicherry as in Europe itſelf. Notwithſtanding the dryneſs of the country, it produces a prodigious quantity of rice, which may be ſaid to grow only in water, all owing to the indefatigable labour and induſtry of the pagans. At certain diſtances in the fields they dig wells from ten to twelve feet in depth, and fix a ſwipe on the top, with a weight without and a great bucket within. A pagan gets upon the middle of the ſwipe, and works it by leaning alternately with one foot on each ſide, ſinging, as he makes each movement, in the malabar their ordinary language, *and one, and two, and three,* &c. reckoning in this manner how many buckets he has drawn. This well being exhauſted, he goes to another, and ſo on thro' the whole day. Theſe people diſtribute and manage the water with a ſurpriſing dexterity. They preſerve it as in Egypt, in ponds, lakes and canals, after the overflowing of the great rivers, ſuch as the Colram, which is not far from thence. But the mahometans or moguls, commonly called

Moors,

Moors, altho' white, the reaſon and origin of that name not being known, are as lazy and indolent as the pagans are induſtrious.

The city of Pondicherry lies about forty or fifty fathoms from the ſea, which does not flow above two feet in that place. It is no more than a road, to which veſſels cannot get up; ſo that mercantile goods muſt be brought in boats from the diſtance of a league out at ſea; which is no ſmall defect in that city, ſo plentiful and flouriſhing in every thing elſe. Living at this place coſts almoſt nothing, and all ſorts of proviſions are exceeding good, as well butcher's meat, as wild-fowl and fiſh. If they want the ſummer fruits which grow in Europe, the country produces others which we have not, and which are better than ours.

The governor general of the company has twelve horſe-guards, cloathed in ſcarlet, with a black facing and a border of gold; their captain is cloathed in the ſame manner, but with lace on the borders and ſeams. He has alſo three hundred foot-guards, called *Pions*, who, upon occaſion, are made uſe of in other ſervices. All this retinue accompanies the governor, when he receives a king, a prince, or an ambaſſador extraordinary. In theſe ceremonies, wherein there is a neceſſity of conforming to the pomp of the Orientals, he is carried by ſix men on a palanquin, the couch and canopy of which are adorned with embroidery and taſſels of gold; and he appears in the country with a magnificence ſuitable to the rank he poſſeſſes.

According to the lateſt computation, there were

were reckoned in Pondicherry a hundred and twenty thouſand inhabitants, chriſtians, mahometans, and gentiles. The city has ſeveral great magazines, ſix gates, a citadel, eleven forts or baſtions, and four hundred and five pieces of cannon mounted upon the walls, beſides bombs, mortars, and other pieces of artillery in the arſenal. In fine, it is one of the fineſt and ſtrongeſt places at this day on all the coaſt of Coromandel.

The reputation which the French enjoy in this place, and we may add the wiſe conduct of M. Dumas, who was made governor in 1735, have acquired thoſe privileges, honours, diſtinctions and advantages from the Indian princes, which are ſo extremely flattering to the nation.

The firſt favour of this kind was the permiſſion to coin money with the ſtamp of the mogul emperor, a privilege the Dutch have never been able to obtain, notwithſtanding the great offers of gold and ſilver they made for it. It is true, the Engliſh have enjoyed it for ſome time; but different revolutions have determined them to abandon it. This favour was granted to M. Dumas, in 1736, by a firman or letters patent, of Mahomet Shah, mogul emperor, addreſſed to the nabob or viceroy of the province of Arcatte.

Immediately upon receiving the paravana he made uſe of it, perceiving the advantage of it to the affairs of the company of the Indies; and from 1737 to the end of 1741, when he returned into France, he cauſed coin to the amount of five or ſix millions of roupies each year. This coin is a piece of ſilver, bearing the ſtamp of the mogul,

mogul, ſomething larger than ours of twelve ſols, and at leaſt three times its thickneſs. Its value is forty-eight ſols.

In order to conceive the advantage of this new privilege to the company, it is neceſſary to know that M. Dumas conforming himſelf to the value of the mogul roupies, put the ſame alloy in thoſe of Pondicherry, and eſtabliſhed the ſame duty of ſeven per cent. Now according to the calculation which has been made, it has been found, that by the coinage of theſe five to ſix millions of roupies, value in ſpecie above twelve millions of livres, the company have drawn from thence four hundred thouſand livres of profit yearly. This profit increaſes daily by the ſurpriſing circulation of the roupies of Pondicherry in trade, where they begin to be better received than all other monies of the Indies. They are not only made of the ingots which the company commonly ſends thither; but alſo all the other nations carry thither their bullion, whereon the mint makes a profit in proportion to the quantity of alloy.

Henceforth there are none but pagods and ſchins which can rival the money of Pondicherry in trad. The pagod is the ancient money of the Indies, being a piece of gold, exactly of the ſhape of a ſmall waiſtcoat button, and of the value of eight livres ten ſols. The under part is flat, repreſenting an idol of the country; and the upper part is round, and marked with ſmall grains, like ſome ſorts of ſleeve buttons. The ſchin is a piece of very fine gold, and worth ten livres of our money. It is a little broader than a piece of twelve

twelve ſols, but not ſo thick; on which account moſt of them are crooked; and in examining a purſe of them, which came from the Indies, I ſcarce found one that was otherwiſe. Some are bored thro', becauſe the Indian women wear them about their necks like medals. Theſe pieces are very common in the country, and coined only at Venice. They come thither by means of the Venetians, who carry on a very conſiderable trade at Baſſora in the bottom of the Perſian gulph, at Moka in the ſtraits of Babel-mandel, and at Gedda, which is the port of Mecca. The Indians carry thither every year a much greater quantity of merchandizes than the French, Dutch, Engliſh, and Portugueze take off; and ſell them to the Perſians, Egyptians, Turks, Ruſſians, Poles, Swedes, Germans and Genoeſe, who all come to purchaſe them in one of theſe three ports, and then carry them to their own country by way of the Mediterranean or on land carriages.

That eſteem which the Indians entertain for the French, appeared in a remarkable manner about five years ago, when a king, who was driven from his dominions, had recourſe to them in order to recover his throne, tho' he might have aſked the aſſiſtance of the Dutch and Engliſh, who are much more powerful, and have ſettlements nearer his capital. This preference piqued and irritated them not a little againſt us.

Cidogy king of Tanjaour, dying in the month of February 1738, left his kingdom to Sahagy Maha Rajou his nephew. A natural ſon of the king, who had poſſeſſed a large ſhare of the government

during his father's life-time, having made a conſiderable party at court, ſeized on the palace and places of ſtrength in the city of Tanjaour by force of arms. Sahagy having juſt had time to ſave himſelf on horſeback with a few of his friends, paſſed the Coldram (*a*), and retired to Chalambron (*b*), a large fortified pagod twenty leagues to the north of Tanjaour, and eight to the ſouth of Pondicherry. There he was joined by ſome troops; but wanting arms and warlike ſtores, the governor, who is a Moor, adviſed him to enter into a friendſhip with the French, who, he aſſured him, by their bravery and generoſity, were more capable, than any other nation to furniſh him with the neceſſary ſuccours to recover his throne. The prince took his advice, and ſent three envoys to the ſieur Dumas at Pondicherry, to treat with him, and obtain the neceſſary ſuccours from him; offering to give to the French by way of acknowledgment the city of Karical, the fort of Karcangery, and ten villages in the country adjacent, with all the lands depending on them. The company of the Indies and the governors of Pondicherry, had been long ſenſible of the utility of a ſettlement in the territories of the king of Tanjaour; and had often endeavoured to obtain it, tho' in vain, being prevented by the intrigues of the Dutch ſettled at Negapatam; that nation had

(*a*) A great river of the Coromandel coaſt which ſeparates the dominions of the king of Tanjaour from thoſe of the great mogul.

(*b*) This great pagod, which is ſurrounded by very thick and high walls, belongs to the Moors, who maintain a governor and a garriſon there.

even

even found means to engage the king of Tanjaour to drive the French from a ſettlement called Cancrypatuam, which the old company of the Indies had made on his dominions on the Coromandel coaſt in 1688.

The ſieur Dumas thought it his duty to take advantage of this favourable opportunity: he made a treaty with the envoys of Sahagy, whereby he obliged himſelf to furniſh that prince with two hundred thouſand livres of our money, in ſilver, arms, gun-powder, and other warlike ſtores, promiſing at the ſame time to give him all the other aſſiſtance in his power; in conſideration of which the king of Tanjaour ſent him a formal ceſſion in favour of the French nation, of the city of Karical, the fortreſs of Karcangery, and the lands depending on them. The ſieur Dumas immediately cauſed equip two large ſhips belonging to the company, the Bourbon of ſixty guns, and the St. Geran of forty, and embarked troops on board them, with artillery and all other warlike ſtores, in order to take poſſeſſion of Karical, and carry the ſtipulated ſuccours to the king of Tanjaour. While theſe things were in agitation, Sahagy Marajou having gained by his large promiſes the principal lords of the uſurper's party, a ſudden revolution happened in his favour. Cidogy was ſeized in his palace; and Sahagy, who had hitherto remained at Chalambron, returning with all expedition to Tanjaour, was unanimouſly proclaimed king. The uſurper having been delivered into his hands, he ordered him to be quartered, and one quarter to be ſet up on

each gate of the city. In the time that this ſudden revolution was carrying on at Tanjaour, the French ſhips ſet ſail for Karical, where they caſt anchor in the beginning of Auguſt.

As ſoon as the Dutch at Negapatam, which is but four leagues from Karical, perceived them, and were informed of the treaty they had concluded with the king, they ſent in all haſte truſty perſons to Tanjaour with preſents to engage that prince and his miniſters not to execute the treaty, and even employed menaces to deter them from it. This gentile king, little regardful of his word, and not having any more the ſame neceſſity for the ſuccours which the governor of Pondicherry had provided him, not only deferred under frivolous pretexts to cauſe render up the fortreſs and city of Karical, to the commandant of the ſhips ſent by the ſieur Dumas to take poſſeſſion of them; but it may alſo be preſumed that he had given ſecret orders to hinder their landing. One of his generals called Kanſaeb, who commanded a body of three or four thouſand men in thoſe quarters, came down to the ſea-ſide, and ſent word to the French commander, that if he landed any of his men, he would give orders to charge them on the ſpot. The two ſhips having been two months at anchor before Karical, the ſieur Dumas ſent orders to them to return to Pondicherry. It would have been eaſy for him, notwithſtanding the menaces of Kanſaeb, to have made himſelf maſter of Karical. But this could not have happened without the loſs of lives on both ſides; ſuch expedients were very improper

to form an eſtabliſhment, whoſe principal object was trade; and it was not fit to irritate the king and the people of the country againſt the French nation. This prince however always promiſed to execute the treaty in a little time, after he he ſhould have made peace with the nabob of Trichenapoly, with whom he was at war, and who held him almoſt ſhut up in the city of Tanjaour, from whence he dared not to ſtir. This viceroy, whoſe name was Sander Saheb, was a particular friend of the ſieur Dumas, and had a great eſteem for the nation. Having been informed of the treaty which the French had concluded with the king of Tanjaour, and that this prince eluded the execution of it, he wrote to the ſieur Dumas, offering to drive Kanſaeb from the territories of Karical, to take the fortreſs of Karcangery, and to deliver the whole into his hands: the ſieur Dumas accepted his offers. This mogul general, who is renowned throughout all the Indies for his bravery and generoſity, did not delay the execution of his promiſe; he cauſed four thouſand horſe to march towards Karical, commanded by the ſieur Francis Pereyra, a Spaniard by nation, one of his principal officers, and who had been for a long time very much attached to the French.

The commandant of the king of Tanjaour's forces in the territories of Karical, took to flight at the approach of thoſe of the nabob, thinking he had all the army of this viceroy to deal with. He abandoned the country to him, leaving only between three and four hundred men in the fort

of Karcangery, which the ſieur Pereyra cauſed immediately to be ſtormed, and made himſelf maſter of it, the enemy not daring ſo much as to put themſelves in a poſture of defence. This action happened the ſixth of February 1739. The ſieur Pereyra having left the command of his detachment to a Mooriſh officer, haſtened to Pondicherry with this news, and to offer to put in execution the promiſes of the nabob Sander Saheb. The ſieur Dumas cauſed that inſtant equip a ſmall veſſel of one hundred and fifty tuns burthen, which lay ready in the road of Pondicherry, and along with her as many troops and warlike ſtores as ſhe could contain. The ſieur Pereyra thereupon returned to Karical; they arrived in twenty-four hours, and as ſoon as they had landed, the ſieur Pereyra and the Mooriſh governor delivered up to the French the city of Karical and fort of Karcangery, in purſuance of the order they had received from their general. The act of taking poſſeſſion bears date the 14th of February 1739; three or four days after the ſieur Dumas gave orders to fit out a great ſhip loaded with every thing neceſſary to put the ſettlement in a ſtate of ſecurity.

The king of Tanjaour received this news without much regret; he had not eluded the execution of his treaty with the French, but at the ſollicitation of the Dutch who had given him money; he was moreover well pleaſed that the French ſhould form an eſtabliſhment in his country, of which the agent, retained by the ſieur Dumas, made him ſee the advantages; and fear-

ing on the other hand, that the French would not pay him the ſum they had promiſed, he wrote to the governor of Pondicherry, complaining that he had made uſe of the Moors his enemies, to make himſelf maſter of a place which he had given him, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that he had never for one ſingle inſtant abandoned the deſign of executing the treaty of Chalambron in all its extent. He ſent him the ratification of it, with orders to all the inhabitants of Karical, and its dependencies, to acknowledge for the future the French as their ſovereigns. Theſe inſtruments are dated the 20th of April 1739.

Scarce had Sahagy Marajou diſpatched them, when his two uncles who had reſtored him to the throne, diſſatisfied with his conduct, cauſed him to be arreſted in his palace; and put Pradapſingue one of his couſins in his place, who a few days after ordered that unhappy prince to be ſuffocated in a bath of warm milk.

The new king who had made his peace with the Moors, ſent almoſt at that inſtant the ratification of the treaty made with his predeceſſor, to the governor of Pondicherry, and even granted him a larger extent of land, by means of ſome preſents added to the ſum promiſed in the treaty.

The French have been ſince that time in peaceable poſſeſſion of Karical, where they have fortified themſelves; and king Pradapſingue has been to pay them a viſit with all his court, in the beginning of the year 1741, and confirmed at Karical all their privileges.

The eſtabliſhment of Karical is ſituated on the coaſt of Coromandel, in ten degrees thirty-five minutes north latitude, and ſeventy-eight of longitude from the meridian of Paris, four leagues north from the city of Negapatam belonging to the Dutch, two leagues ſouth from Tranquebar, an eſtabliſhment belonging to the Danes, and twenty-five leagues ſouth from Pondicherry.

This eſtabliſhment contains as follows, viz.

The city of Karical, which is very ancient, and appears to have been very conſiderable; there remain in it at this day upwards of ſix hundred houſes of ſtone and brick, without reckoning thoſe made of clay and covered with ſtraw: and it is reckoned to contain five moſques, five large pagods, nine ſmall ones, and above five thouſand inhabitants. This city is ſituated on one of the branches of the Colram, into which thoſe veſſels of the country called Champanes, of two or three hundred tuns burthen, as alſo ſloops and long boats of men of war of fifty guns, may eaſily enter.

The fortreſs of Karcangery ſeems to be very ancient. It is built after the country faſhion, being flanked with eight large towers; and lies about a cannon ſhot from the city of Karical, and half a quarter of a league from the ſea-ſide; the French have blown up part of it, having judged it more convenient to ſettle themſelves at the entrance on the banks of that branch of the Colram which runs to Karical.

Tiroumale Rayan Patuam is a very conſiderable town, lying to the ſouth of Karical, and one of its

its dependencies, being about a league diſtant from it, and one thouſand two hundred fathoms from the ſea: it conſiſts of five hundred brick houſes, four moſques, four large pagods, twenty-eight ſmall ones, and twenty-five inns for the reception of travellers. According to a computation that was made at taking poſſeſſion of it, it contained two thouſand five hundred men.

The reſt of the territory of Karical conſiſts of nine towns or villages, extending to five or ſix leagues round. The ſoil is excellent, very fertile, and abounding in rice, cotton, indigo, and other grain: a great quantity of cotton and painted ſtuffs are manufactured there.

The revenues of the lands of Karical and its dependencies, the farms of tobacco and betel, and the cuſtoms, amount annually to ten thouſand pagods of gold, near one hundred thouſand livres of our money.

It may be ſaid with truth, that none of the European nations poſſeſs on the Coromandel coaſt an eſtabliſhment ſo conſiderable and extenſive.

Thus the honour and dominions of the French in the Indies continued to increaſe in a glorious manner, when there happened one of the greateſt and moſt fatal revolutions that had been ſeen for a long time in the peninſula within the Ganges. An irruption of barbarous gentiles threatened to ſwallow up and deſtroy every thing; the wiſe conduct of the governor of Pondicherry put a ſtop to their fury, delivered thoſe from the ſword

who

who would otherwiſe have been its victims, and and at laſt diſpelled the ſtorm.

To trace this event up to the principles which gave occaſion to it, it perhaps would be neceſſary to give an account of the war which Mahomet Schah, emperor of the Moguls, maintained in 1735 and 1736 againſt Nadir Schah king of Perſia, better known under the name of Thamas Kouli Kan, which he bore when a private man, and with which all the univerſe has rung. But the hiſtory of that incurſion being already written, I refer the reader to it, not having myſelf any new memoirs on that ſubject.

After the mogul emperor had been dethroned and made priſoner in his capital, from whence the conqueror carried off immenſe treaſures, ſome nabobs (*c*) or viceroys of the peninſula, imagined this was a favourable moment to aſpire to an independent ſovereignty. They flattered themſelves they might attempt it with ſo much the more ſucceſs, as there was no appearance that the king of Perſia, after having traverſed ſo vaſt an extent of country, and having been ſo well rewarded for his enterpriſe, ſhould think of coming to attack them in a region ſo little known to him, as was the neighbourhood of cape Comorin. It was towards theſe provinces that the nabob of Arcatte, Daouſt Aly Kan, the ſame who had granted the French leave to coin money, flattered himſelf with the hopes of erecting a kingdom for his

(*c*) Archives of the company of the Indies, n. 161, c. 83. l. 1. f. 3. with a private memoir.

eldeſt

eldeſt ſon Sabder Aly Kan, and another for his ſon-in-law Sander Saheb, young men, ambitious indeed, but deſtitute of the neceſſary talents to ſucceed in ſuch a deſign. Arcatte is a large city, thirty leagues ſouth-weſt of Pondicherry, and one of the ugliеſt in the world.

The moguls, who had extended their conqueſts far into that part of the Indies under the reign of Aurengezebe, of whom I have ſpoken, had ſtill ſuffered the kingdoms of Trichenapaly, Tanjaour, Madura, Maiſſour, and Marava, to ſubſiſt. Theſe eſtates were governed by gentile princes, ſubjected to pay an annual tribute to the mogul emperor, which they did not always perform with the greateſt punctuality. From time to time the emperor had been obliged to ſend his armies againſt them, in order to force them to ſatisfy his demands. They came at laſt to be in great arrears, thro' the weakneſs of the government of Mahomet Schah, more taken up with the pleaſures of his ſeraglio, than with the cares of his dominions, which he abandoned to miniſters as voluptuous and diſſipated as himſelf.

Daouſt Aly Kan, nabob of Arcatte, laid hold of this circumſtance to make war upon the gentile princes his neighbours. He aſſembled an army of horſe from twenty-five to thirty thouſand, with a proportionable number of infantry, the command whereof he gave to Sabder Aly Kan his ſon, and Sander Saheb his ſon-in-law, who began their warlike operations by ſeizing the territories of Trichenapaly, and laying ſiege to the capital, a large populous city, lying about

about thirty-five leagues ſouth-weſt of Pondicherry. It was compleatly inveſted by the army of the Moors on the 6th of March 1736, and taken by aſſault the 26th of April following. Sabder Aly Kan eſtabliſhed his brother-in-law Sander Saheb in the government of Trichenapaly, who took upon him the title of nabob or viceroy.

After having made themſelves maſters of all the country, they invaded the kingdom of Tanjaour, and laid ſiege to the capital of the ſame name, where Sahagy the king had ſhut himſelf up with all the troops he could get together. That place being very well fortified for people unacquainted with the methods employed in Europe, by which the ſtrongeſt and beſt-defended cities are at laſt taken, they turned the ſiege into a blockade, after having attacked it to no purpoſe for the ſpace of ſix months.

While Sander Saheb commanded at the ſiege, his brother Bara Saheb advanced towards the ſouth with a detachment of fifteen thouſand horſe, and made himſelf maſter of Marava, Madura, and the country about cape Comorin. Then aſcending along the Malabar coaſt, he puſhed his conqueſts into the province of Travancour. In theſe circumſtances it was, that Sander Saheb put the French in poſſeſſion of Karical, as we have already related.

All the gentile princes, greatly alarmed at thoſe conqueſts, diſpatched meſſengers on meſſengers to the king of the Marattes, repreſenting to him, that if they were not ſpeedily aſſiſted, their principalities and religion muſt be entirely deſtroyed by

by the mahometans. The chief miniſters of that prince, moſt of whom are bramins, perſuaded him that it was an indiſpenſable article of his duty to comply with their requeſt.

This king is named Maha Raja, profeſſes the ſame religion, that is to ſay, the ſame idolatry with the people of Trichenapaly and Tanjaour, and reigns over a vaſt extent of country. He has frequently with an army of a hundred and fifty thouſand horſe, and as many infantry, ravaged the dominions of the mogul, and drawn from thence immenſe contributions. The Marattes his ſubjects are little known in Europe. War is their chief buſineſs. They dwell on the ſouth-eaſt of the mountains which lie beyond Goa towards the Malabar coaſt; the capital of their country, a very conſiderable city, is called Satara.

The ſollicitations of the king of Tanjaour and the other gentile princes, together with the deſire to pillage a country, that had been long enriched by the gold and ſilver which all the nations of the world had carried thither for the purchaſe of their commodities, at laſt determined Maha Raja king of the Marattes to ſend thither an army of ſixty thouſand horſe, and a hundred and fifty thouſand foot, under the command of Ragogi Bouſoula Sena Saheb Soula, his eldeſt ſon, who began his march in the month of October 1739.

Daouſt Aly Kan, nabob of Arcatte, having had advice of their approach, wrote to his ſon and ſon-in-law, who ſtill kept the king of Tanjaour blocked up in his capital, to join him with all

all expedition, in order to cover their own dominions. But theſe two generals, loth to abandon their conqueſts, were in no haſte to obey. The army of the Marattes advanced in the mean time by long marches to Arcatte, pillaging and ravaging all the country through which they paſſed.

The nabob, having aſſembled all the troops he had left, took poſſeſſion of the ſtraits of the mountains of Canamay, twenty-five leagues to weſt of Arcatte, a very difficult paſs, which a ſmall number of troops might defend againſt the moſt numerous army. He likewiſe cauſed all the other places, thro' which he thought the Marattes might penetrate into his dominions, to be guarded.

They arrived at the mountains of Canamay in the month of May 1740: but perceiving that they could not force the nabob in his poſt, without great loſs, they encamped at the entrance of the defiles, and ſent ſome of their people to a gentile prince, who guarded another paſſage with five or ſix thouſand men, on whom Daouſt Aly Kan had imagined he might depend. But that prince ſoon ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by the remonſtrances, the promiſes and money of the Marattes. His bramins removed the difficulties which he had to conſent to this piece of treachery, by giving him to underſtand that the ſucceſs of this war might deſtroy the mahometan ſuperſtition in their part of the world, and re-eſtabliſh the religion of their anceſtors. He promiſed to deliver the paſſage which he guarded to the Marattes;

rattes; and while they were amuſing the nabob with ſlight ſkirmiſhes, they marched their troops towards the ſmall defile, of which they took poſſeſſion on the nineteenth of May. From thence they marched to ſurprize him in the rear, and had come within two cannon ſhot of him, before he had any intelligence of his having been betrayed.

When he was informed that on the ſide of Arcatte there appeared a body of cavalry advancing towards his camp, he imagined they were the troops of his ſons coming to join him. But as ſoon as he heard the furious diſcharges of the muſketry, he no longer doubted that they were the Marattes who attacked him. His ſon Aly Kan and ſeveral general officers immediately mounted their elephants, and defended themſelves with much valour and intrepidity. But they were overwhelmed by ſo great a fire and ſuch a terrible diſcharge from the ſlings, that all thoſe who accompanied them either periſhed or took to flight. The nabob and his ſon, having received ſeveral wounds by gunſhot, fell dead from their elephants; and their fall occaſioned ſo great a panic, that the rout became general throughout the army. Almoſt all the general officers were killed or trod under foot by the elephants, which ſunk down to the middle of the leg in the mud; the ground being extremely wet by the rains which fell the night before. Some who had been preſent at the engagement, affirm, that never field of battle preſented a ſight more hideous, of horſes, camels, and elephants wounded

wounded and furious, mingled and overwhelmed together with officers and ſoldiers, ſending forth frightful cries, making vain efforts to eſcape from the ſloughs full of blood wherein they were plunged, and ſtifling and cruſhing to pieces thoſe wounded ſoldiers who wanted ſtrength to riſe.

Cityzor Kan, general of the mogul army, and intimate friend of Imam Saheb governor of Maſulipatan, and one who had done the company the moſt important ſervices, was ſhot in five places, and beſides dreadfully wounded by a ſtone from a ſling, which ſtruck out one of his eyes and overthrew him from his elephant, after he had defended himſelf a long time againſt that multitude of enemies which environed him *. His domeſticks who were about him, ſeeing him fall to the ground, carried him to a neighbouring wood, and thought of nothing but making their eſcape from the enemy. After a march of ten or twelve days, they arrived at Alemparvè, otherwiſe Jorobandel, with their wounded maſter. His jawbone was broke in pieces, and half of his tongue carried away by a muſket-ball; another had lodged in his breaſt, and three more in his back, and one of his eyes was ſtruck out. The ſurgeon major to the company was ſent to him, who waited on him five and twenty days, without being able to ſave him; this brave officer died thirty-five days after the battle. On the approach of the Marattes, Imam Saheb had retired to Jorobandel; and when he ſaw his friend arrive in

* It may here be remarked, that a diſcharge of ſlings from the Marattes, is more terrible than the moſt violent fire of muſkets,

that

that condition, he was penetrated with grief; he never left him a moment till his death, at which he felt the deepeſt concern.

This dreadful battle was fought on Friday the 20th of May 1740. The Marattes took a great number of priſoners, the chief of whom were Taqua Saheb, grand divan, ſon-in-law of Daouſt Aly Kan, and the nabob Eras Kan Mirzoutou, general of the horſe. They plundered the camp, carried off the military cheſt, and took the ſtandard of Mahomet and that of the emperor, above forty elephants, and a great number of horſes. The body of Aly Daouſt Kan was found among the dead, but that of his ſon could not be diſtinguiſhed, which without doubt had been cruſhed to pieces by the elephants, as had been the caſe of many others.

As ſoon as the report of this defeat was ſpread thro' the country, the alarm and conſternation which it occaſioned are inexpreſſible. People at Pondicherry would not believe it, even when they ſaw a prodigious multitude of Moors and gentiles running thither for ſhelter, and earneſtly demanding an aſylum, as in a place which they reckoned the ſafeſt of all the coaſt, and where they expected to meet with the greateſt aſſiſtance and the moſt humane reception. In ſhort, the crowd became ſo prodigious, that they were obliged to cauſe the gates to be ſhut againſt them. M. Dumas, the governor, let the world ſee of what he was capable in ſuch a juncture. He greatly reinforced the gate of Valdaour; he was

there night and day, preventing confuſion, and giving the neceſſary orders. The quantity of grain and baggage of all kinds, which on that occaſion came into Pondicherry during fifteen days, is incredible. The houſes and the ſtreets were ſo filled with them, that it was with difficulty one could paſs along; all the merchants within and without the city, who had conſiderable quantities of effects at Arcatte or in the country, having cauſed them to be carried thither, at the firſt news of the approach of the Marattes.

On the 25th of May, the fifth after the battle, the widow of the nabob Daouſt Aly Kan, all the women of his family and their children, preſented themſelves before the gate of Valdaour, earneſtly beſeeching that they might be received into the city, to which they had brought all the gold, ſilver, jewels, and other valuable effects which they could get together.

This was a delicate juncture for the French. It was to be feared that the Marattes, when informed of the place where the whole family of the nabob had taken refuge with their treaſures, would lay ſiege to Pondicherry, in order to carry them off. On the other hand, the French would be diſhonoured throughout all the Indies, if they refuſed to receive that fugitive family, which had commanded for a long time in the province, and had favoured them on all occaſions. Beſides, the leaſt revolution might bring about a change in the face of affairs, and oblige the Marattes to return to their own country; in which caſe Sabder Aly Kan and all his family would become the irrecon-

irreconcileable enemies of the French, and take all the revenge againſt them in their power.

The governor, reſolving to take nothing upon himſelf, aſſembled the ſovereign council. He laid before them the reaſons which weighed on either ſide; but he made it appear that gratitude, honour, humanity, and thoſe ſentiments wherein the nation placed their glory, would not permit them to ſend back a family ſo reſpectable, and ſo many unfortunate perſons who came to throw themſelves into their arms; therefore he was of opinion to receive them, and to grant them the protection of their ſtandard. This reſolution was generally approved in the council, and applauded by all the French in Pondicherry.

Immediately they went in great ceremony to meet the nabob's widow, all the garriſon was put under arms, and the ramparts were manned. The governor in a magnificent palanquin, accompanied by all his horſe and foot guards, went to receive her at the gate of Valdaour. That princeſs, her daughters and relations, were in two and twenty palanquins, followed by a detachment of one thouſand five hundred horſemen, eighty elephants, three hundred camels, above two hundred chariots drawn by oxen, in which were their retinue, and laſtly, above two thouſand beaſts of burthen. As ſoon as the princeſs entered the city, ſhe was ſaluted by a general diſcharge of the cannon in the citadel, and conducted with all her relations to the apartments provided for her: all the mogul officers gave marks of extreme joy and

ſatisfaction at the good reception they met with on this occaſion.

Never was a day more glorious and flattering to Pondicherry and the French nation in the Indies. It had been in appearance ſafer and more obvious, for the widow of the nabob and all that fugitive people, to take refuge at Porto-Novo, Tranquebar or Negapatam, among the Engliſh and the Dutch, nearer and more powerful than us. But all, without heſitation, came to put themſelves under the protection of the French; evidently ſhewing that they had more eſteem and repoſed greater confidence in them, than in all the other nations of Europe.

In the mean time Sabder Aly Kan, eldeſt ſon of Aly Daouſt Kan, with eight hundred horſe, arrived within a day's march of Arcatte, two days after the battle. But being informed of his father's death, and the fatal iſſue of the engagement, his men abandoned him, and he was obliged to take ſhelter in the fortreſs of Velours. Sander Saheb his brother-in-law, having left Trichenapaly with four hundred horſe, to come to the aſſiſtance of his father-in-law, was likewiſe informed on the road of this melancholy piece of news, and found all the country already in arms againſt the Moors. Several paliagares or petty princes in the neighbourhood, and the mainards, or provoſts of the juriſdiction, carried away by the general fright and the torrent, declared againſt him, and formed a reſolution to ſeize him, and deliver him up to the general of the Marattes, in order

order to gain his favour. But having got intelligence of their deſign, he made a haſty retreat to the fortreſs of Trichenapaly, where he ſhut himſelf up.

The next day after the battle, the general of the Marattes entered Arcatte, of which he made himſelf maſter without any oppoſition. All the city was plundered, and part of it burnt, after the barbarians had made a prodigious booty. Afterwards they ſent different detachments on all ſides, in order to lay the country under contribution. Nothing eſcaped their cruelty and avarice. It being a law amongſt them, that the chiefs of thoſe flying parties ſhould have for their ſhare one half the booty they make, they exerciſed all imaginable barbarities againſt the gentiles, tho' of the ſame religion, and ſtill greater againſt the Moors or Mahometans. They carried iron chairs along with them, to which they chained down thoſe whom they were to put to the queſtion, having firſt ſtript them naked; then they ſet fire under them, and thus tortured them till they had diſcovered all their effects to the laſt roupie. The number of people that periſhed by this cruel treatment, and the ſword, is almoſt incredible, for they put to the ſword thoſe who were poor and had nothing to give. All the places into which they made their irruptions were utterly ruined and deſtroyed; which occaſioned a great loſs to the country in the manufacture of ſtuffs, moſt of the gentiles being weavers, and very dextrous at that buſineſs.

While theſe barbarians were thus laying waſte

the province of Arcatte and the neighbouring country, Sabder Aly Kan, ſtill ſhut up in the forteſs of Velours, ſent deputies to the chief of the Marattes, to make propoſals for an accommodation. After various negotiations, the treaty was concluded on the following mortifying conditions: That Sabder Aly Kan ſhould ſucceed his father in the place of nabob of Arcatte; that he ſhould pay to the Marattes a hundred lacs, or a hundred millions of roupies; that he ſhould evacuate all the territories of Trichenapaly and of Tanjaour; that he ſhould join his troops to thoſe of the Marattes, to drive his brother-in-law Sander Saheb out of the city, fortreſs and territory of Trichenapaly, which he had ſeized; laſtly, that all the gentile princes of the Coromandel coaſt ſhould be reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of thoſe countries they had occupied before the war. This treaty was ſigned at Arcatte, towards the end of Auguſt 1740.

Tho' the Maratte general might very well be ſatisfied with it, two other reaſons engaged him to comply; the motions of the king of Golconda, and the firmneſs of the French.

As ſoon as Nazar Sinque, ſouba of Golconda, and ſon of Niſam El Mouk, chief miniſter to the mogul, was informed of the devaſtations thoſe foreign barbarians were committing in Carnate, he thought it his duty to endeavour to ſtop their progreſs, that he himſelf might not fall a victim to them. He ſet out on his march againſt them with an army of ſixty thouſand cavalry, and a hundred and fifty thouſand foot. But at his arri-

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val on the banks of the Quichena, twelve days march from Arcatte, he found the river ſo ſwoln that it was impoſſible to paſs any farther. The Maratte general being informed of his approach, and knowing that he only waited the fall of the waters to continue his march, was afraid of loſing all the advantages he had gained by the arrival of ſo formidable an enemy; this reflection facilitated the concluſion of the treaty with Sabder Aly Kan.

The reſiſtance made by the French entirely determined him. Above a year before this incurſion, a Moor of diſtinction came on purpoſe to inform the governor of Pondicherry, who was his particular friend, of this affair, and would not leave him, till he had taken it down in writing. It is not known in what manner, a perſon at ſo great a diſtance, and ſo long before, could come to the knowledge of it. The moment he received intelligence of the firſt motions of the Marattes, M. Dumas took every proper meaſure for his ſecurity. The fortifications of the city were not as yet compleated on the ſide of the ſea, wherefore he cauſed build a ſtrong wall on both ſides of the city, in order to ſhut up an interval of forty or fifty toiſes which remained open from the houſes to the ſea; he repaired the old fortifications, built new ones, furniſhed the place with proviſions and warlike ſtores, put arms in the hands, not only of the garriſon and the guards, but of all the inhabitants of the city who were in a condition to bear them, and appointed to every one his poſt and his

office. Theſe preparations for defence partly engaged the people of the neighbourhood to run thither in crowds, demanding an aſylum after the battle of Canamay.

The event juſtified the wiſdom of all thoſe precautions. The conquering general having taken poſſeſſion of Arcatte, threatened to attack Pondicherry with all his forces, unleſs he had immediate ſatisfaction made by the payment of conſiderable ſums. Several letters paſſed between him and the French governor on this head. The Marratte general demanded fifteen millions of livres as a preliminary to the treaty, an annual tribute to be paid, and the wife and ſon of Sander Kan, with his elephants, horſes and riches, to be delivered up to him. But M. Dumas ſhewed by his anſwers that he was not terrified at his menaces. And indeed he had made ſufficient preparations againſt any ſudden attack of thoſe barbarians, having laid in a great quantity of proviſions and warlike ſtores in the city, and mounted above four hundred pieces of cannon and mortars on the fortifications. He had likewiſe formed a body of infantry conſiſting of twelve hundred Europeans, whom he exerciſed daily both in the ſervice of the cannon and the muſketry; and another of Malabars or mahometans, to the number of four or five thouſand, who, tho' not much to be depended on, being bad ſoldiers, yet greatly relieved the garriſon, as they mounted guard regularly on the baſtions and courtines.

Thus they continued under arms at Pondicherry from the month of May 1740, to April 1741.

In

In the mean time Ragogi Bouſoula general of the Marattes ravaged and laid waſte all the country about, being more intent upon making booty than taking places and keeping them. He found moſt reſiſtance at Trichenapaly, of which he was deſirous to make himſelf maſter, that he might take Sander Saheb who had ſhut himſelf up there, and ſtill defended himſelf with a great deal of courage. Trichenapaly is a ſtrong city for the Indies, being ſurrounded with a ſtrong high wall, and flanked with towers at certain diſtances, with a double rampart and a ditch full of water. The Marattes, after having entirely inveſted it, opened the trenches on the 15th of December, and formed four attacks, which they puſhed vigorouſly by ſapping the walls under galleries that were perfectly well formed.

Bara Saheb being informed that his brother Sander Saheb was hard preſſed by the barbarians, departed from Maduras with eight thouſand horſe, in order to endeavour to enter Trichenapaly, and force the Marattes to raiſe the ſiege. But they, having had advice of his approach, marched out and met them at ſome leagues diſtance from their camp with twenty thouſand horſe and ten thouſand foot. They engaged him in ſeveral bloody battles, in which Bara Saheb was killed, his army cut in pieces, and his camp pillaged. His body was carried to the general of the Marattes, who ſeemed affected at the death of ſo accompliſhed a perſon, who had given ſuch great proofs of his valour. After he had viewed it with regret, he

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cauſed it to be covered with rich ſtuffs, and ſent it to Sander Saheb his brother, that he might give it the uſual honours of a funeral.

This melancholy event overwhelmed Sander Saheb with grief, and entirely diſcouraged him. Having been for a long time in want of proviſions and warlike ſtores, and of money to pay his garriſon, and now finding himſelf reduced to the laſt extremity, he ſurrendered himſelf priſoner of war. The general of the Marattes, ſatisfied with his ſubmiſſion, granted him his life and liberty, on the condition of a high ranſom, took poſſeſſion of the place on the laſt day of April 1741, after a ſiege of five months, abandoned it to the pillage of his army, and placed a garriſon of ſix thouſand men in it, till he ſhould receive farther orders from the king of the Marattes his father.

His army having been more than ſufficient for the ſiege of that city, he had ſent a detachment of eight thouſand horſe and about as many foot, to the ſea-coaſt, who attacked Porto-Novo about ſix leagues to the ſouth of Pondicherry, and eaſily made themſelves maſters of a city which was entirely open. They plundered it, and carried off all the merchandizes found in the magazines of the Dutch, French and Engliſh. Luckily the French company did not loſe above the value of three or four thouſand pagods in blue ſtuffs, which were ſtill in the hands of the weavers and dyers; for M. Dumas having foreſeen theſe troubles for ſome time before, had cauſed the value of twenty thouſand pagods in them to be carried to Pondicherry.

From

From

From Porto-Novo the Marattes marched to Goudelour, an Engliſh ſettlement four leagues to the ſouth of Pondicherry, which they pillaged, nor were the cannon of Fort St. David able to prevent them. After this they encamped at Archiouac, a league and a half from Pondicherry, without daring to approach nearer the city. From thence they attacked Congymer and Ladras, two conſiderable eſtabliſhments belonging to the Dutch, whoſe magazines were entirely plundered.

From this place the chiefs of the detachment wrote ſeveral times to M. Dumas, and even ſent a principal officer, a mogul by religion, to repeat their menaces and demands; proteſting that in caſe of refuſal, they had orders to intercept all the proviſions carried to Pondicherry, and that the reſt of their army would lay ſiege to the place as ſoon as Trichenapaly was taken, which could not now hold out above fifteen days. The governor gave this officer, who was a man of courage and merit, a very polite reception. He ſhewed the condition of the place and the artillery, the great quantity of proviſions with which the city was provided, and likewiſe the ſtrength of the citadel, which could in an inſtant be blown up into the air by the mines dug below it. He aſſured him that he had reſolved to defend it to the laſt extremity, rather than comply with any of the demands made by the general of the Marattes, which beſides were not in his power to grant. He added, that he had cauſed all the remaining merchandize goods and moſt valuable effects to be

be embarked on ſhipboard; and if by a ſeries of misfortunes he found his reſources exhauſted, that it would be an eaſy matter for him to embark and return to his native country; and by this means they would have nothing to gain, but a great deal to loſe. The mogul officer, who had never ſeen a city in his country ſo well fortified, was ſtruck at the ſight, and returned perfectly well ſatisfied with the civilities of the French, and full of eſteem for them.

A very inconſiderable preſent which M. Dumas made him, contributed more than all the fortifications and artillery of Pondicherry to put an end to this cruel war. This is a freſh proof of what has been ſo often obſerved: That the moſt important events depend frequently on the greateſt trifles. It being the cuſtom of the country to make always ſome preſent to ſtrangers of diſtinction, M. Dumas gave the mogul ten bottles of the different liquors of Nantz, under the name of cordials; for if he had told him that the foundation of them was ſpirit of wine, he could not have accepted them, becauſe the mahometan religion prohibits the uſe of them. The officer having given a taſte of them to the general of the Marattes, who was not prohibited their uſe, found them excellent, and his miſtreſs ſtill better: ſhe demanded of the general to procure her ſome, and told him that ſhe muſt have them at what price and condition ſoever. Ragogi Bouſoula, embarraſſed with her continual and preſſing importunities, durſt not aſk them directly of M. Dumas, for

for fear of lying under an obligation to him, and being under a neceſſity to acknowledge it. He cauſed indirect propoſals to be made that he ſhould ſell him ſome of them, offering him a hundred roupies and more for each bottle. The governor, who was acquainted with the cauſe of this extraordinary eagerneſs, feigned ignorance of theſe offers proceeding from the general of the Marattes, who began to be in bad terms with his miſtreſs. That prince not being able to ſee her in a bad humour with him, conſented at laſt to a ſtep which coſt him dear, and which he looked upon as contrary to his intereſt and his honour: he cauſed the liquors to be demanded in his name, promiſing to acknowledge the favour gratefully. M. Dumas pretending that he had been hitherto ignorant that the Maratte prince wanted them for himſelf, ſent him thirty bottles of different ſorts, cauſing him to be told that he was charmed with having any thing that could be agreeable to him. The Maratte received them with great joy, gave them immediately to his miſtreſs, who was appeaſed and contented; and when he ſent to thank the governor, he gave him a paſſport for two of his people, whom he begged him to ſend to him, in order to treat of an accommodation. This deſire which the Maratte had to procure his liquors, had already cauſed him to prohibit his troops from inſulting the city of Pondicherry, around which they had remained encamped for ſeveral months.

The governor taking advantage of theſe favourable moments and diſpoſitions, choſe two bramins of

of the city, men of ſpirit and entirely in his intereſt, whom he ſent immediately to the general of the Marattes, with inſtructions and powers to negociate a peace. They repreſented to him the injuſtice of his pretenſions, the difficulty he would have to obtain them by force, and the impoſſibility of the governor's being able to ſatisfy them. They very dexterouſly made appear the advantageous ſituation of Pondicherry, the numerous artillery with which it was defended, the quantity of proviſions with which it was furniſhed, the precautions which had been taken to retire by ſea in caſe of neceſſity, and laſtly, the reſolutions of the French to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. This report having been confirmed by the mogul officer who had been at Pondicherry, let the Marattes underſtand, that in attacking that place they had much to loſe, and nothing to gain. They agreed about the beginning of May to return to their native country, according to the advice of their general, and even demanded nothing of the French. Thus by a very ſingular occurrence, and by the wiſdom of the governor of Pondicherry, this horrible ſcourge of the Marattes was averted, which had threatened the utter deſtruction of the French nation in the Indies.

The teſtimonies of eſteem and gratitude which the good conduct of the governor procured him were great. The widow of the nabob Daouſt Ali Kan, highly ſenſible of the civilities ſhe had received every day from the governor and his la-

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dy, informed her ſon Sabder Aly Kan of it: who more ſenſible of the generous reception ſhe had met with, than if it had been done to himſelf, wrote to M. Dumas in the moſt obliging and affectionate terms.

This prince's mother being informed that he had made peace with the Marattes, ſent to him, deſiring ſhe might ſee him, in order to alleviate the grief ſhe felt at her huſband's death. Sabder Aly Kan promiſed immediately to obey her. He and his brother-in-law Sander Saheb, with ſome of their principal lords and domeſtics, having at M. Dumas's deſire left their troops encamped without the limits of the company's lands, arrived at Pondicherry on the firſt of September towards the evening. M. Dumas received him at the gate of Valdaour, and as ſoon as he alighted from his palanquin, embraced him with great demonſtrations of friendſhip and reſpect. He embraced in the ſame manner the grand divan, Taka Saheb, ſon-in-law of Daouſt Aly Kan, Sander Saheb, and all the other nabobs and lords of diſtinction. Then he took the nabob by the hand, and led him to a tent provided for his reception, adorned and illuminated in a magnificent manner. The greateſt part of the garriſon, and ſailors of the European ſhips in a military dreſs, were under arms, and guarded the gates and the walls.

After reſting a ſhort time in the tent, the nabob made a pompous entry into the city, and was conducted to the company's gardens, where his mother

mother and ſiſters were lodged. The two firſt days were ſpent in mourning and tears, according to the cuſtom of the Moors; and the viſit to the governor was deferred till the 4th of September.

M. Dumas received him with all the honours due to his rank. Sabder Aly Kan made uſe of the moſt lively andaffectionate expreſſions, to teſtify his gratitude to the governor, for the aſylum theFrench had afforded to his mother, at ſo critical a juncture, declaring that neither he nor his ſhould ever forget it; and that for the future M. Dumas ſhould be as much maſter in the province of Arcatte as himſelf.

After a converſation of ſome time, M. Dumas having paid the uſual compliments of ſetting betel before them, and ſprinkling the head and cloaths of the perſons of the greateſt diſtinction with a little roſe-water, offered in the name of the company the uſual preſents to the nabob and the lords of his retinue; for it is the eſtabliſhed maxim of the country to make preſents on all viſits and extraordinary occaſions. The lords took what was given them; but the nabob would accept only in ſign of friendſhip, of two veſſels for holding roſe-water, a little vermilion and filigreen work. He returned to his apartment highly ſatisfied with his polite reception, and the honours done him. That very evening, in teſtimony of his gratitude, he ſent the governor a ſerpeau, and one of his fineſt elephants, which in that country is looked upon as the moſt honourable preſent that can be made.

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Some days before he had made him one ſtill more real and conſiderable. When he gave him notice of his arrival at Pondicherry, he cauſed to be delivered to him the *paravanas*, or letters patent, whereby he ceded to him perſonally, and not to the company, the Aldees, or lands of Archionac, Tedouvatanam, Villenour, and three others bordering on the ſouthern territory of Pondicherry, which bring in a yearly revenue of twenty-five thouſand livres.

To this act of generoſity, Sabder Aly Kan a year afterwards added another preſent equally magnificent and honourable: this was the armour and habit of ceremony which belonged to his father Daouſt Aly Kan. Sabder Aly Kan ſent this preſent to M. Dumas a ſhort time before he returned to France, that he might give him the laſt teſtimony of his friendſhip, and engage him to remember him, even in thoſe extremities of the world to which he was ſoon to paſs. He accompanied this preſent with a letter carried by Mirgoulam Ouſſen Kan his principal favourite.

When it was known at the court of Dely, that Sabder Aly Kan had ceded ſeveral Aldees perſonally to M. Dumas, ſo far from being offended that a Frenchman had become proprietor and lord of lands depending on the empire, a thing hitherto without example, the mogul emperor on the contrary, cauſed that donation to be ratified by a *firman* (*b*), the moſt authentic of all their letters patent.

(*b*) *Paravana* is the word uſed for the letters patent of the princes or nabobs: and *firman* for thoſe of the mogul emperor.

Soon after this favour was crowned by another ſtill more honourable, which ſhewed the eſteem the Indian princes bore to M. Dumas, and the confidence they repoſed in him. This was the dignity of nabob and of manſoupdar, which gave him the command of four azary and a half, that is to ſay, of 4500 mogul cavalry, two thouſand whereof, even in time of peace, he might keep about him as a guard to his perſon, without being at any charge for their maintenance. No European had ever been favoured with ſuch an honour in the Indies; and it ſhews the great eſteem and confidence with which the princes of the country honour the French nation.

The more ſplendid that dignity was to the perſon who bore it, the more flattering it was to the nation, and advantageous to the French company, who ſhould henceforth be defended by the troops of the great mogul and his generals, the collegues of the governor of Pondicherry, the more was M. Dumas ſenſible of how great importance it was to have that title and its privileges tranſmitted to his ſucceſſors. Having been determined for two years before to return to France, and every day expecting the permiſſion from the king and the company, he petitioned the mogul emperor, that the title and privileges of nabob, with which he had honoured him, might not be entirely perſonal to him, but that his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to confer them in perpetuity on the governors of Pondicherry. To have deſerved and obtained the firſt favour, was an aſſured pledge that the ſecond would not be refuſed to

him. Accordingly the great mogul graciouſly granted it to M. Dumas, and immediately cauſed a firman to be expeded to that effect.

When M. Dumas, now on the point of returning to France, reſigned the government of Pondicherry to M Dupleix in the month of October 1741, he likewiſe put him in poſſeſſion of the title of nabob, and cauſed him to be acknowledged in that quality by the 4500 horſemen whom he commanded. This title is ſo much the more valuable, that it ſhews the preference the Indians give to the French above all other nations of Europe, none of which enjoy any rank or privilege in the leaſt reſembling this; that it aſſociates the governor of Pondicherry to the generals of the mogul; that it engages them to protect us againſt all thoſe who may attack us; and that in time it will contribute greatly to the ſolidity and aggrandizement of the company's commerce.

It would not have been juſt if ſo many and ſuch important ſervices rendered to the company, and, it may be ſaid, to the ſtate to which the trade of the Indies is ſo advantageous, had remained without their reward, after having been honoured by the Indian princes themſelves. The king in this prevented the ſolicitations, and even the thoughts of M. Dumas, by ſending him in 1737 while at Pondicherry, not only letters of nobility, but likewiſe the croſs of St. Michael. He arrived at Paris the 23d of June 1742, and the 4th of September following his majeſty iſſued out new letters patent confirming the former, wherein is related all he had done in the Eaſt-

Indies, from his firſt voyage till his return. I ſhall give an extract of them below, in order to excite the emulation of thoſe who hereafter go to thoſe foreign countries in the ſervice of the company.

* *The king having reſolved to honour with the croſs of St. Michael, his dear and well beloved the ſieur Benedict Dumas, heretofore governor of the Eaſt-Indies and Pondicherry, and at preſent director of the company of the Indies, in conſideration that he has given for the ſpace of thirty years, conſtant and diſtinguiſhed marks of his zeal for the ſervice of his majeſty, and for the improvement of the commerce of his kingdom. Having gone to the Indies in* 1713, *at the age of* 17 *years in quality of ſervant to the company, he was made counſellor of the ſupreme council of Pondicherry the* 22*d of June* 1718, *and procurator general in June* 1721. *Being named to the general government of the Indies, he obtained the office of general director for the company of the Indies in the iſlands of France and Bourbon; then he was made preſident of the ſupreme council, and afterwards governor of thoſe iſlands. In* 1735 *he was appointed governor of the city and fort of Pondicherry, and commandant general of all the French forts and eſtabliſhments in the Eaſt-Indies. In* 1737 *he obtained of the mogul emperor permiſſion to coin roupies at Pondicherry, from whence the company draws a yearly profit of four hundred thouſand livres. That all*

* Extract of the Letters Patent given by the king the 4th of September 1742, which confirm the ennobling of the ſieur Dumas, which the king had granted him when he ſent him the croſs of St. Michael at Pondicherry, in 1737.

thoſe ſervices determined his majeſty to ennoble him in 1737, *and to name him an aſſociate of his ſaid order of St. Michael. That his conduct has ever juſtified the rewards he has received from his majeſty, having moreover obtained gratuitouſly from the king of Tanjaour in* 1739, *the fort of Karcangery, and the city of Karical, the lands and duties of which are farmed by the year at a hundred thouſand livres. In* 1740, *the Marattes having attacked and defeated the army of the Moors, and killed their general the viceroy of Arcatte, the ſieur Dumas found it neceſſary to give refuge in Pondicherry to all the family of the viceroy and the remains of his ſhattered army. That then the Marattes made diſpoſitions to beſiege Pondicherry; but by a negociation of the governor, which did great honour to the French nation in the Indies, the ſieur Dumas not only diſſuaded the barbarians from that deſign, but determined them to ſend an ambaſſador with a preſent, to requeſt the friendſhip of the French nation. That in acknowledgement of all thoſe ſervices, the mogul emperor Mahomet Schah, honoured the governor of Pondicherry in perpetuity with a patent for being manſoupdar or commandant of* 4500 *horſe, and confirmed the donation made by the viceroy of Arcatte to the ſieur Dumas, of a territory of the yearly revenue of twenty-five thouſand livres, adjoining to thoſe poſſeſſed by the company at Pondicherry. In conſideration whereof, his majeſty ordains the marechal duc de Duras, &c.*

It is evident that the reputation, credit and power of the French in the Indies, have a prodigious

digious influence on the trade they carry on; and that it was partly owing to the want of thoſe aſſiſtances that the old company of the Eaſt-Indies came to fail. Poſſeſſing only the ſmall funds of Pondicherry, the city or rather village of which contained no more than what lay between the little rivulet and the ſea; having little or no connection with the princes of the country; and laſtly, being continually thwarted in their ſales and purchaſes by the Dutch and Engliſh, who traded with loſs in the view of ruining them, that fate they met with became inevitable; and they were obliged to abandon their commerce to different private perſons, and in the laſt place, to the merchants of St. Malo, on condition of being paid certain duties by virtue of their privilege.

They were reduced to theſe extremities when the duke of Orleans the regent, undertook to reſtore the trade of the Indies by uniting together all the companies, I mean thoſe of China, of the Eaſt-Indies, of Senegal, and of America or the Weſt. This union was declared by the edict of March 1719. But as it did not provide the neceſſary funds for the trade, the 20th of June following the king created twenty-five millions of new actions at 1500 livres each, bearing intereſt of ten per cent. and of the ſame nature with thoſe already created for a hundred millions in Auguſt 1717, which compoſed the funds of the company of the Weſt, which was then in the moſt flouriſhing condition.

Notwithſtanding this augmentation of the funds, the commerce of the new company continued

tinued to languiſh for ſeveral years, whether on account of the immenſe debts with which that of the Eaſt was loaded both in France and the Indies, where they had borrowed at enormous intereſt as long as their credit laſted; or becauſe they had no ſhips in a condition for the ſea; or laſtly, on account of the bad ſtate of their eſtabliſhments in the iſlands of Bourbon and France, and of their factories in the Indies, which obliged them to ſuppreſs the ſovereign council at Surat.

At this time a reſource offered, which promiſed every thing that could be hoped for; but like a flaſh of lightning, it glared for a time and then diſappeared. I ſpeak of the fatal ſyſtem of 1720, when all France, as if in a fit of madneſs, eagerly ran to deſtruction by the route of chimerical millions. It was then the new company, enriched for a moment with part of the ſpoils of the kingdom, which the ſyſtem had procured them, ſent three ſhips to the Indies richly loaden not only with European merchandizes, but likewiſe with gold and ſilver. The directors of Pondicherry, ignorant of what had paſſed in France, were extremely ſurpriſed, after ſo great a decline of their commerce, to receive all on a ſudden ſuch immenſe ſums in crowns and louiſdors, that the like had never happened before nor ſince.

But theſe flattering expectations of the re-eſtabliſhment of trade, vaniſhed almoſt as ſoon as they appeared. The greateſt part of the money received in the Indies, was ſwallowed up in paying the moſt preſſing and conſiderable debts con-

tracted by the old company at Surat, Camboya, Bengal and elſewhere; and the company received a very indifferent cargo in return for the prodigious ſums they had ſent out.

The reſource of the ſyſtem having failed, and the billets which the company had in great plenty, having been totally ſuppreſſed before the end of the year 1720, they could find no more funds to make remittances to the Indies. So that in 1721 and 1722, not one ſhip ſet ſail; which drew upon us the railleries and inſults of all the nations in the Indies, and reduced the officers of the company to the moſt melancholy ſituation, having neither credit, effects, money nor reſources.

The company exerted themſelves, and the king afforded them ſome aſſiſtance, by which they recovered inſenſibly, tho' ſlowly. In 1723, two ſhips were fitted out, which ſerved rather to ſubſiſt the officers and factors, and to pay their debts, than to enrich the company by their returns. However, from 1724 to 1726, they ſet out three or four every year, which re-eſtabliſhed them by degrees.

The reader will not be diſpleaſed at finding here a ſtate of the ſhips which have ſailed from Pondicherry to France, with the prices of their cargoes, from 1727 to 1741. He will there ſee the progreſs of the company's commerce, and eſpecially its prodigious increaſe ſince 1737, under M. M. Orry and de Fulvy, during whoſe adminiſtration it was firſt, doubled and then tripled. I ſhall only obſerve, 1ſt. that as many ſhips ſet ſail every year from Bengal as from Pondicherry, conſequently

quently that the number in this liſt ought to be doubled. 2d, That the number of pagods ſet down is the prime coſt of the cargoes. 3d, That a pagod is valued at 9 livres of our money.

There ſailed from Pondicherry for France.

In 1727, October, and 1728, January, in three ſhips, to the amount of 248265 pagods in mercantile goods.

In 1728, September, and 1729, January, in three ſhips, 200320 pagods.

In 1729, September, and 1730, January, in three ſhips, 248083 pagods.

In 1730, October, and 1731, January, in four ſhips, 600711 pagods.

In 1731, October, and 1732, January, in four ſhips, 302006 pagods.

In 1732, September, and 1733, January, in four ſhips, 260640 pagods.

In 1733, September, and 1734, February, in four ſhips, 392987 pagods.

In 1734, September, and 1735, January, in four ſhips, 375341 pagods.

In 1735, September, and 1736, January, in three ſhips, 223484 pagods.

In 1736, October, and 1737, January, in five ſhips, 351691 pagods.

In 1737, October, and 1738, January, in five ſhips, 522315 pagods.

In 1738, October, and 1739, January, in five ſhips, 586156 pagods.

In 1739, October, and 1740, January, in four ſhips, 485732 pagods.

In 1740,

In 1740, October, and 1741, Jauuary, in four ſhips, 555643 pagods.

In 1741, October, and 1742, January, in ſeven ſhips, 954376 pagods.

The ſale, which was made this year 1742, at at Port l'Orient, amounted to twenty-four millions, without including four millions of merchandizes which were left on purpoſe in the magazines that the price might not fall too low by the great quantity of goods in the mercat. I am informed that the two firſt ſhips which have arrived this year 1743, are loaded each to the value of eight hundred thouſand roupies, that is to ſay, about two millions prime coſt of merchandizes, a thing which the company had never ſeen before.

From hence, it is eaſy to form a notion of the extent of their actual commerce, and the ſolidity of their actions. The proofs of this are evident.

1. From fifty-ſix thouſand actions at which the king fixed the company in 1723, forming a fund of one hundred and twelve millions, and eight millions four hundred thouſand livres of dividends, they have withdrawn five thouſand, which were annulled and publickly burnt by arret in 1725. Beſides the dividends of the fifty-one thouſand actions remaining are ſatisfied by the eight millions which the farmers general pay every year to the company for the farms of tobacco, the *excluſive*, *perpetual*, *and irrevocable* privilege of which was granted to the company, eſpcially for that deſtination, in 1723 and 1725, and by the caſtor of Canada.

2. So

2. So far from being embarraſſed with the payment of their dividends, the fund for them is fixed and ſettled even in that of the farms general, to which none can refuſe their confidence.

3. Thus the commerce of the Indies, the extent, ſolidity, and produce whereof we have ſeen, becomes an additional ſecurity, the profit of which remains in ſtock, and forms a growing fund, yearly employed to increaſe their cargoes, and render that of the actionairs ſurer, in the ſame manner as a merchant throws his profits ſucceſſively into his trade.

4. Altho' the original fund of the action, which was but one thouſand five hundred livres, and ſince that time has had no fixed price, has been always paid without any delay on the footing of ten per cent. intereſt, which has no other lawful example in commerce and the ſtate; the actionairs expect and have a right to partake of the ſurplus which the company ſhall draw from their commerce, as the declaration of 1685 promiſes and bears. If they have ſhared nothing as yet, they ought to reflect that till theſe late years the trade has been in a languiſhing condition; that the company has been obliged to repair the loſs of ſeveral large ſhips; to ſatisfy their old debts; to pay the annuities with which they are burthened, which fall but ſlowly; to repair their ſettlements, which were in a very bad ſtate, and to build and fit out ſhips; to buy lodges and factories, to build magazines in them; to expend above fifteen millions at Louiſiana; to build the magnificent port of l'Orient with all its dependancies;

dancies; and to be at other very conſiderable charges on account of their commerce, marine, troops and fortifications. But I am authoriſed to ſay, that when theſe extraordinary expences ſhall be at an end, and the funds ſhall have attained to a certain pitch, the company will augment the dividends, by adding every year the ſurplus of their profit, the funds whereof appertain really and ſolely to the actionairs. Thus it is in one ſenſe indifferent whether the actions riſe or fall, ſince the caprice of the publick makes no change in the ſolidity of the funds, or in the payment of the dividends.

5. It would then be an effect of groſs ignorance, to imagine that the king carries on the trade in name of the company; that he gives a ſhare of the profit to the actionairs, and that the remainder goes into his coffers, or into thoſe of the directors. Whoever would inform himſelf, and make the leaſt reflection on ſo many edicts and arrangements, which cannot with any probability be ſuppoſed illuſory, will perceive that no ſuſpicion was ever more chimerical or worſe founded. The company of the Indies is nothing but a ſociety of thoſe who have contributed more or leſs to the eſtabliſhment of its commerce, under the protection of the king and the adminiſtration of the directors. The edict of 1725, article XI, explains all in a few words, and leaves no difficulty.

" Our will is, ſays the king, that it remain, conform to its inſtitution, a company purely of commerce, applied ſolely to maintain that which

is

is entruſted to it, and to advance with wiſdom and oeconomy the good of our ſubjects who are concerned in it, ſo that the funds of the company of the Indies ſhall in no ways be employed to any other uſe than its commerce."

6. From what quarter is it poſſible that the actions can at preſent be in danger? It cannot be from the payment of the dividends, which is ſupported on the produce of the farms of tobacco. It is not from the king, who will never ſeize on the *patrimony of the actionairs*, as he expreſſes himſelf in the edict of 1725; who has himſelf obviated this odious apprehenſion by article IV. of the declaration of 1664 above related, who is moreover intereſted to ſupport the greateſt commerce of his kingdom, without which above twelve millions muſt every year be carried to foreigners; and not to weaken a fund of a hundred millions, which is continually circulating in the ſtate, and is equivalent to a like ſum of money. Laſtly, the fall of the actions can never proceed from foreigners, or from our ſituation in the Indies, which is more advantageous than ever we could have expected, ſeeing we are the friends and allies of the mogul and the Indian princes, and ſo particularly regarded by them, that they have demanded of us the title of *brothers*, as much out of eſteem as gratitude, reſolving henceforth, that our intereſts and our enmities ſhould be the ſame with theirs.

To theſe reflections on the ſolidity of the actions we may add others to this effect. Two men

men lay out each a hundred thouſand franks; one buys an eſtate, and the other actions. The revenue of the firſt is not above half what the other enjoys; his tenants ſeldom pay him punctually; every year ſome reparations are neceſſary; the inclemency of the weather frequently deſtroys the whole harveſt, which has been obſerved to happen ſeveral years ſucceſſively; the ſtoppage of his rents embarraſſes the proprietor; he is obliged to borrow; he ſeeks a moderate ſum, which often he is not able to procure, and thus he may be in the moſt deplorable ſituation, tho' poſſeſſed of an eſtate worth one hundred thouſand franks.

He on the contrary, who has the ſame ſum in actions, receives above double the revenue of the former; he is regularly paid every ſix months; he is not troubled with the cares of management; it has been made evident that he has nothing to fear for the ſecurity of the funds; and if it ſhould happen that he has occaſion for money, he may get as much as he pleaſes at any time without being obliged to trouble his friends.

Laſtly, in order to give a notion of the external commerce of the company of the Indies, for I do not enter into what regards its produce and internal arrangements, I ſhall here give the ſtate of the merchandizes brought from the Eaſt, both with reſpect to quantity and quality.

According to the poſted bills of laſt year, the firſt debarkation of the ſhips *le Comte de Toulouſe*, *le Duc de Bourbon*, *le Triton*, *le Penthievre*, *l'Argonaute*,

gonaute, *la Balene* and *le Mars*, which arrived in May, June, and July 1742, confiſted of the following articles.

400000 pounds coffee of Moka.
1240000 pounds ditto of the iſland of Bourbon.
426811 pounds bohea tea.
16501 pounds kamphou ditto.
10178 pounds pekeau ditto.
9697 pounds ſaotchaon ditto.
60660 pounds green tea common lonlo.
82695 pounds ſuperior ditto.
9340 pounds hayſoen ditto.
3740 pounds imperial ditto.
595377 pounds pepper.
533895 pounds red wood.
66788 pounds cauris.
49947 pounds tautenague.
23167 pounds eſquine.
16869 pounds galeugal.
3040 pounds curcuma.
137 pounds ſago.
230 pounds rhubarb.
43200 pounds tany ſilk.
9577 pounds raw ſilk of Nanquin.
2070 pounds ſpun cotton.
5300 pieces white ſalempouris.
46395 pieces white guinees.
690 pieces ditto unwaſhed.
2960 pieces white doutis.
2640 pieces deriabadis.
8100 pieces percales.
6840 pieces ſoeretons.
2800 pieces chavonis.
3780 pieces tanratannes.

15108 pieces

15180 pieces betilles.
740 pieces organdis.
98 pieces ſteinkirks organdis thread.
1300 pieces baſins of the coaſt.
995 pieces ſtuffs with three threads,
51710 pieces white garas.
13780 pieces white baffetas.
1200 pieces adatays.
6900 pieces ſanas.
4440 pieces hamans.
14340 pieces caſſes.
243 pieces nenſougues.
7199 pieces tangebs.
12680 pieces mallemolles.
349 pieces ataraſoye.
6080 pieces terindans and terindins.
300 pieces tocques.
5280 pieces doreas of Bengal.
1900 pieces baſins.
150 pieces diſſoutis.
100 pieces of table-cloths.
100 pieces of napkins.
592 embroidered ſteinkirks.
1252 pieces of different embroideries of Daca.
10 pieces of jamdanis.
7858 pieces of different ſtuffs of Patna.
23200 pieces of napkins of Bengal.
6540 pieces ditto of Tranquebar.
24356 pieces ditto of Maſulipatam.
900 pieces ditto Paliacatte.
9400 pieces ditto of Pondicherry.
76 pieces of ſteinkirks, of organdis thread, with blue and red ſtripes.

960 pieces

960 pieces blue ſalempouris.
11940 pieces blue guinees.
17700 pieces guingans.
400 pieces bojutapauts.
560 pieces neganepauts.
2160 pieces chazelas.
100 pieces chabbaſs.
400 pieces elatchas.
200 pieces chuguelas.
240 pieces allibanis.
400 pieces diſſouchaye.
600 pieces ſirſakas.
100 pieces guingans of Balacor.
200 pieces pinaſſées.
200 pieces nelis.
500 pieces ſoucis.
100 pieces tepays.
640 pieces gourgourans.
488 pieces of plain damas.
50 pieces ditto of two colours.
100 pieces ditto with large ſtripes.
50 pieces large damas for furniture.
640 pieces plain pequins.
100 pieces plain ſatins.
95 pieces ditto ſtriped.
194 pieces pieces padiſſoy.
50 pieces large lampus.
15 pieces flowered gauze.
26 pieces nanquin.
2257 fans.
2085 tea cheſts.
126 cheſts of porcelain.

345 parcels of ditto.
3367 parcels of rotins.

The ſales of this preſent year 1743, have been much higher than thoſe of the laſt, as may be ſeen by comparing the two poſted bills, whereof theſe are the firſt articles.

526000 pounds coffee of Mocha.
1985000 pounds ditto of the iſland of Bourbon.
883581 pounds bohea tea.
16114 pounds green tea common ſonlo.
139385 pounds ſuperior ditto.
795000 pounds pepper.

The five other ſhips, called *le Condé*, *le Duc d'Orleans*, *le Duc de Charles*, *le Chavelin* and *le Heron*, which did not arrive till September 1742, were loaded with the ſame merchandizes, ſuch as coffee, tea, woods for dying, pepper, ſpices, medicinal drugs, ſalt petre, ſilk, cotton thread, cotton ſtuffs of many different ſorts, gourgourans, damas, ſattins, gauzes, japanned furniture, and porcelain from China; for it is a popular error, and ſtill common enough to believe that porcelain is made in the Indies.

AN ESSAY TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE COMMERCE OF THE SEVERAL NATIONS of EUROPE TO THE EAST-INDIES;

SHEWING

The RISE, PROGRESS, and PRESENT STATE of that TRAFFIC; as carried on by the ENGLISH, DUTCH, FRENCH, PORTUGUEZE, SWEDES, DANES and PRUSSIANS; from the first Discovery of a New Route to the INDIES, round the CAPE of GOOD-HOPE, to the present Time.

AN

ESSAY

TOWARDS A

HISTORY

OF THE

COMMERCE

OF THE

BRITISH COLONIES;

AN ESSAY TOWARDS A HISTORY, &c.

CHAP. I.

COMMERCE is coeval with human ſociety, to whoſe wants and imbecillities it owes its being. In proportion as ſocieties increaſed, and ſtates were formed, traffic, which in the firſt ages ſupplied the neceſſities of life, was employed to feed that luxury which the common proſperity had begotten. Private gain was the firſt motive to the mercantile life. But experience, the parent of wiſdom, having ſhewn that wealth and treaſure contributed in a ſurpriſing manner to the glory and power of nations, ſtates, and princes, warmed by the love of their peo-

ple, or fired by their private ambition, turned to the public advantage that endleſs thirſt of gold which agitates the heart of man. Thus they, by wiſe inſtitutions promoting induſtry and arts, acquired infinite wealth; and the ſovereignty of the ocean gave them to protect their allies, and to reſtrain the boundleſs ambition of their enemies.

Never was there a more abundant ſource of wealth than the traffic of the Indies. For nature has not only beſtowed the neceſſaries of life on thoſe happy regions in the moſt plentiful manner, but has alſo overflowed this tract with ſuch a profuſion of delights, unknown to other climes, as fills us with wonder and aſtoniſhment: as if by the alluring delicacies of Aſia, ſhe had intended to tame and mollify the rugged ſons of the North; and that the Eaſt by her blandiſhments, ſhould have wherewith to avenge herſelf of thoſe nations, whoſe force and ſteel ſhe was not able to withſtand.

Its wealth drew the firſt ſons of fame into thoſe countries which lie beneath the riſing ſun. Bacchus or Dionyſius, the firſt of conquerors, and of legiſlators, has the glory of having penetrated before all others into India, and to have ſubdued and given laws to this empire. It was the fame of their riches, and the charms of gold, ever a powerful motive to a female heart, which allured that celebrated woman who ſwayed the Aſſyrian ſcepter, to attempt the conqueſt of the Indies. Hercules, the model of heroiſm, exerciſed his valour on this theatre: and Seſoſtris, whoſe

whoſe fame has almoſt made all the other kings of the Egyptians forgotten, viſited thoſe countries, as far as that ſea which waſhes the ſhores of Japan. Arabia, a country barren of even the neceſſaries of life, is ſaid to have acquired ſuch immenſe wealth in this traffic as gained her the title of the happy; and the Ethiopians, barbarous as they were, perceived the advantage of diſcovering the Indies; for an expedition is mentioned which that people made into the eaſtern world, the particulars whereof time has conſumed. There are no monuments of an eſtabliſhed maritime trade of greater antiquity than that which the Egyptians and Phenicians carried on to thoſe parts; chiefly theſe latter, the moſt ancient body of traders that exiſt in the annals of human affairs. Theſe illuſtrious merchants, together with the Egyptians, poſſeſſed at once the trade of Europe, of Aſia, and of Africa, that is to ſay, of all the known world, excluſive of all others: exchanging the rich commodities of the Indies, to which they were the ſole navigators, for thoſe of the North and Weſt. Solomon, the wiſeſt of all the ſons of men, eſteemed this traffic next to the favour of the God of wiſdom, the brighteſt gem in his diadem; and drew ſuch immenſe treaſures from the oriental commerce, as rendered his nation and government the admiration of the moſt diſtant kingdoms. Under the empire of the Perſians, the Phenicians conducted their trading fleets into the eaſtern ocean: and when the deſpotic government of that people had chaced commerce from Phenicia, Alexan-

dria became then the mart and emporium of all the Indian merchandize. Alexander the conqueror of Aſia, in founding this city, intended to eſtabliſh this commerce; a project after the conqueſt of the world, ſtill worthy of Alexander. The Ptolemies, his ſucceſſors in the Egyptian monarchy, reaped the fruits of a deſign which adds ſo much to the glory of that heroic prince; and the wealth which this commerce poured into Egypt, and which by means of this city it continued to poſſeſs for ages after, at once the cauſe of its proſperity and ruin, drew thither the Romans, ambitious to poſſeſs a trade, which brought along with it ſo much treaſure and ſo vaſt a maritime power.

We may judge how dearly the ancients valued this traffic from the labour they uſed to ſeize it, and to deter or hinder all other nations from attempting it. The Romans were told by the Arabians, that theſe precious commodities were no where to be found except in frightful places, guarded by hideous dragons, and other monſters of terrifying forms. The love of gold triumphed over their fears. For Auguſtus, who founded the imperial power at Rome, had reſolved upon the conqueſt of the Arabian peninſula; partly, becauſe it would infallibly open to him all the oriental commerce, and alſo ſuppreſs the pirates, who from the Aſiatic ſide of the Red-ſea infeſted the Roman navigation. His attempt failed, as did ſeveral other weak efforts, in a ſtate very little favourable to trade or diſcoveries; that of the Roman republic, changed into a military and

deſpotic

deſpotic government. Titus and Veſpaſian had no better ſucceſs. Their laſt effort was that of Trajan, whoſe ſole motive was to poſſeſs himſelf of the riches of the Indies with which Arabia then abounded.

After Conſtantine had tranſlated the ſeat of the empire to Byzantium, the eaſtern trade ſtill ſubſiſted. Alexandria continued to be the principal emporium. Seleucia of Syria was the route of the more inland commerce; and the barbarians that dwelt on the bleak borders of the Euxine, felt the charms of the wealth which the Eaſt poured into the Greek empire through this ſea.

At laſt, this commerce ſhared the fate of the provinces through which it flowed. The military genius of the Arab princes, the ſucceſſors of Mahommed, extinguiſhed for ſome time the ſpirit of traffic. Fury and barbarity ſeemed to be let looſe, to lay waſte and confound every thing upon the face of the earth. No ſooner had the grandſon of that monarch, who tore Afric from the deſcendants of Mahommed, founded Cairo, and protected merchants, than did the rich flow of eaſtern wealth return to its ancient channel; and the new built city became at once the chief mart of the weſtern world, and the ſeat of a new empire.

The Venetians and Genoeſe raiſed themſelves on the ruins of the Greek empire; and profiting by the general confuſion, ſeized part of its diſmembered dominions. They ſucceeded at the ſame time to the trade of the Indies, the commodities

modities whereof they diſtributed all over the North, an infinite ſource of wealth and power to thoſe ſtates.

Whilſt theſe poſſeſſed the wealth of this traffic in Europe, the Arabians were the ſole merchants in the commodities of the Eaſt. This was the ſituation of the eaſtern commerce when the Portugueze nation diſcovered a new route in the Indies through the ocean, which gave them the ſole poſſeſſion of the riches of the Eaſt for ages afterwards.

CHAP. II.

HENRY, the fifth ſon of John the Firſt, king of Portugal, was he who formed the deſign of diſcovering a new paſſage into the eaſtern ocean. The glory of ſo vaſt a project enflamed his ſoul to ſuch a degree, as not to ſuffer him to ſleep by night or by day. Nothing employed his thoughts but expedients which might ſerve to promote his favourite ſcheme. Men ſkilled in navigation and ſea affairs were allured into Portugal by great rewards. Nothing was talked of but equipments and new diſcoveries; and no obſtacles were able to alter the fixed reſolution of this great prince, zealous for the proſperity of his country. Neither the weak condition of the kingdom, but juſt eſcaped the perils of a civil war, nor the emptineſs of the royal exchequer; nor the want of people in a country almoſt depopulated by the late diſaſters; nor the oppoſition and remonſtrances of thoſe who were admitted into

into the councils of the realm; nor the expence, the difficulties, the danger, and uncertainty of ſuch an undertaking; nothing could make any impreſſion on the reſolves of a man whoſe ſoul was naturally vaſt, and who was formed for great deſigns. The proſpect of the ocean, which almoſt waſhed the walls of his palace, and which ſeemed by the roaring and whelming of his billows, to put him in mind of the vaſt advantages he was ready to procure him and his nation, if he himſelf was not wanting to both, inflamed his ardor inceſſantly.

He reſolved to begin with the conqueſt of the Canaries, or Fortunate Iſlands, celebrated among the ancients for the benignity and ſweetneſs of the climate, and the happy fertility of the ſoil, as one of thoſe happy ſeats, where the ſouls of departed heroes enjoyed eternal felicity. Macoit, or as others ſay, John de Bethancour, had in the year fourteen hundred and one, diſcovered and conquered theſe iſlands by the orders of Henry, the third king of Caſtile who bore that name. The king, pleaſed with the Frenchman's ſucceſs, afforded him all the aſſiſtance and encouragement he wanted; and to inſpire others with courage to undertake great and hazardous diſcoveries, gave him the title of king of the Fortunate Iſlands, on condition only that he ſhould hold them of the kingdom of Caſtile. The Spaniſh monarch ſaved Henry the trouble of a conqueſt, to whom he yielded them for a valuable conſideration. But the deſigns 1406 of the prince did not ſtop here. This ſublime genius

genius was not to be ſatisfied with the conqueſt of ſeven iſlands, whoſe greateſt value to him was their fame, and the uſe he intended to make of them in the diſcovery of the vaſt extended continent of Africa. He ſent Ferdinando de Caſtro to take poſſeſſion of them; and proceeded to build ſhips for further diſcoveries.

No Portugueze had ever beheld the land of Africa, beyond a certain promontory, by the natives called Chaunar, but which ſeamen know beſt by the name of Cape-Non. Thoſe veſſels full of caution, and never loſing ſight of the coaſt, proceeded as far as Cape-Bojadore, lying twenty-ſix degrees on this ſide the equinoctial circle. A ſtrong current which runs near this promontory, and which breaks in huge mountainous waves over the ſands, forms a ſpectacle terrible to ſeafaring men. Here the terror of this ſight, and their ignorance of the coaſt, ſtopped them. The prince perceived that which had eſcaped the adventurers; this was, that by keeping farther out at ſea, the cape might be doubled. Two years afterwards, in 1439, he ſent Juan Gonzales Zarco, and Triſtan Vaz Texeira, with orders to purſue the ſhores of Barbary, to paſs that dreadful headland, and to diſcover all thoſe lands of Africa which according to the opinions of learned men, and the information of the Arabs, ran on as far as the equator. They had not reached the coaſts of Africa when a furious ſtorm overtook them, which threatened to bury them in the waves. They were driven, without knowing which way the violence of the tempeſt

tempeſt hurried them, to a little iſland, which from the ſafety it afforded men in deſpair, they called Porto Santo, or Holy Haven. The year following, the iſland of Madeira was found, ſo called from the woods with which it is covered.

King Edward, the ſucceſſor of John, was taken with the projects of the prince, and as a mark of his ſatisfaction, gave him the ſovereignty of Porto Santo, Madeira, and all the iſlands he ſhould diſcover on the weſtern coaſt of Africa. It was not till the year one thouſand four hundred and thirty-nine, that Henry's pilots ventured beyond Cape-Bojadore, an exploit, from the danger which attended it, deemed by the people of thoſe days, equal to the labours of the ſon of Alcmena. The year following they had ſcarce got within twenty degrees of the line. Soon after were diſcovered Rio del Aro, or the Golden River, and alſo ſome ſmall iſlands. In fourteen hundred and forty-ſix, Nuno Triſtan ſailed beyond Cape-Verd in the latitude of fourteen degrees forty minutes. Two years afterwards Gonzalo Vallo viſited the Weſtern Iſlands, othewiſe, from the number of hawks ſeen on them, called the Azores; for AZOR in Spaniſh ſignifies a hawk. The enſuing year was diſtinguiſhed by the diſcovery of the iſlands of Cape-Verde, tho' all of them were not known till eleven years, after.

1439
1440
1445
1446
1448
1449
1460

Don Pedro, the brother of Henry, and regent of Portugal in the minority of king Alphonſo the fifth of that name, their nephew, confirmed the former

former gifts. But Henry, that no ſort of right might be wanting to his new domain, ſent Ferdinando Copez, veſted with the character of ambaſſador, to Martin the fifth, then the ſovereign pontiff, with orders to communicate to him his diſcoveries, and to repreſent the vaſt advantages which muſt redound from them, not only to the chriſtian religion, but in particular, to the power of the holy ſee; and for theſe reaſons, to crave the protection of the holy father. The pope, overjoyed at an embaſſy, which ſeemed to give him the diſpoſal of the univerſe, and which treated with him as the king of kings, and ſovereign of all mankind, not only granted at the firſt demand, every thing the ambition of the Portugueze prince could deſire, but alſo gave to the crown of Portugal the ſovereignty and dominion over all lands, which then were, or ſhould afterwards be diſcovered, in that hemiſphere, the Indies included: threatening with the apoſtolical thunder whoſoever ſhould dare to diſpute or moleſt their poſſeſſion. This famous bull, the cauſe of vaſt conteſts in ſucceeding times, was given in the year fourteen hundred and forty-four. Thus Henry eſtabliſhed his rights by an authority which none dared to challenge. Under his auſpices was diſcovered the continent of Africa from Cape-Non to Cape-Sierra Leona, eight degrees on this ſide the equatorial circle. He omitted nothing which could render his labours laſting and beneficial to his country. He ſent out colonies, planted the ſugar cane, and the vine, ſo that Africa was now inhabited

inhabited by a people whoſe language ſhe did not underſtand, and ſaw her boſom covered with harveſts unknown to her before. In this manner did this great prince, by a zeal which can never ſufficiently be commended, and by an immoveable perſeverance in this noble project, till the laſt moment of his life, pave the way to the diſcovery of the Indies, and become the author and founder of the glory and proſperity of his country.

Succeeding princes encouraged the diſcoveries begun by Henry. The year fourteen hundred and ſeventy-one added three new diſcovered iſlands to the Portugueze empire. And thus, creeping along the African ſhores, by little and little, with wary and fearful ſteps, they approached the important diſcovery, which gave to the crown of Portugal the empire of the Eaſt. In fourteen hundred and eighty-four, Diego Cam, a native of the ſame country, ſailed into the African ocean, and added to the diſcoveries of his adventurous predeceſſors that of the kingdom of Congo.

CHAP. III.

AMONGST other ſtrange accounts which he brought home with him, and told among his countrymen, who flocked to liſten to one who had been ſo great a traveller, he ſaid, he had been informed of a certain monarch, called among theſe natives, prieſt or preſbyter John, who reigned in Ethiopia, was a chriſtian, and whoſe

whoſe power Cam exalted to the ſkies. This news was greedily received by John, who had ſucceeded his father Alphonſo in the throne of Portugal. He was perſuaded nothing could ſo much advance the deſigns he had formed, of profiting of the apoſtolical donation, by diſcovering his unknown eſtates in Africa and the Indies. In this view, he ſent out perſons on every ſide to make diſcoveries, to get intelligence of this prince, and to conclude an alliance, from which he promiſed himſelf great advantages in the execution of his projects. But the principal object of his enquiries, was to diſcover, whether it were poſſible to find out a new and eaſier way into the Indies, thro' the ocean.

Alphonſo de Paijva, and Pedro de Covillan, were the chiefs in this undertaking. They ſet out from the kingdom of Portugal for Egypt, landed at Alexandria, proceeded to Cairo, and from thence to the port of Aden, famous for its univerſal commerce. Here they had an opportunity of learning from a vaſt crowd of traders, who flocked thither from all parts, many things of great conſequence to the undertaking they were upon. That nothing might eſcape them, they formed the deſign of inveſtigating things to their ſource, and the more to ſatisfy a king greedy of ſuch relations, to make their eyes witneſſes to the truth of what had been told them. This was, that, while Covillan went to viſit the court of the Ethiop prince, de Paijva ſhould make the circuit of the Indies. They ſet out. Pedro ſucceſsfully performed his expedition. He embarked

barked on board a trading ſhip in the Arabian gulph. He viewed, with great exactneſs, the coaſts of India. The prodigious quantities of rich ſtuffs, pearls, and other precious merchandize, filled him with aſtoniſhment. He thence croſſed the Arabian ſeas, landed in Africa, viſited her principal ports, and came to Sofala, full of joy at what he had ſeen, but more ſo from what he had heard by the unanimous voice of all ſeafaring men he had converſed with, and from his own conjectures, that an eaſier and ſhorter paſſage to the Indies might be found, by ſailing round the vaſt continent of Africa. He made haſte to Cairo. Here his joy was interrupted by the fate of Alphonſo, who had been murdered in his way to the ſeat of the emperor of Ethiopia.

King John had been extremely happy in the choice of the men he had ſent out on theſe diſcoveries, eſpecially in Covillan, who was eager to ſatisfy the curioſity of the king, and to eſtabliſh his own reputation, by putting the laſt hand to what he had gone out upon. Inſtead of returning, which was natural to a man ſo long abſent from his native land, he contented himſelf with writing to the king, what a world of riches he had ſeen in the havens of the Eaſt: and ſet out for that journey which had been the province of of De Paijva. His uſual good fortune attended him in the beginning of this expedition. Alexander, who then held the ſcepter of Abyſſinia, was overjoyed at the offers of Covillan, to give him the friendſhip and aid of a great prince.

He overwhelmed Pedro with careſſes. But the ſudden death of the king changed the fortune of the Portugueze orator.

His ſucceſſor Nahu treated Covillan with great barbarity; and not only rejected his requeſt to be permitted to return to his native country, but detained him priſoner in his court, ſo long, that in Portugal they concluded that both their envoys had ſuffered one common fate.

At laſt Covillan appeared. His ſtory filled all that heard his adventures with vaſt hopes. The king at once reſolved to attempt the new road to the Indies thro' the immenſe tract of the ocean. He offered great rewards to ſeamen, mathematicians, aſtronomers, and to all who ſhould in any way facilitate the new projected route to the Indies. The invention, or at leaſt the perfection of ſuch mathematical inſtruments, as pilots and navigators uſe at ſea, was owing to the emulation which theſe recompences bred amongſt artiſts. Bartholomew Diaz, a courtier of
1486 conſummate prudence, and whoſe courage was not to be ſhaken by the appearance of dangers, and who to thoſe great qualities had joined a profound knowledge in the art of navigation, was pitched upon, to direct the diſcoveries along the ſouthern coaſt of Africa. The ſucceſs of this expedition did not leſſen his reputation. He continued his voyage as far as a certain high promontory, which, from the inceſſant ſtorms that vex the neighbouring ſeas, ſeemed to be the country of the tempeſts. He therefore gave it the name of the Stormy-Cape. But the king, who imagined

gined he beheld from the ſummits of this promontory, the eaſtern ſeas opened, and the vaſt riches that filled the Aſian ports; and who already perceived the conſequences of this diſcovery, changed the terrifying name which Diaz had given to this head-land, into the more auſpicious title of THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, EL CABO DEL BUENO ESPERANZA. Diaz continued his voyage beyond this promontory. This navigation employed the ſpace of ſixteen months ſeventeen days. Full of theſe vaſt hopes, and juſt in the moment when he was upon the point of reaping the fruits of his labours, John died. The great diſpoſer of all things did not think fit to permit him to finiſh an undertaking he had ſo nobly begun, and from which he had promiſed himſelf immortal honour.

CHAP. IV.

THIS glory was reſerved for the young Emanuel. Altho' the penetrating ſpirit of that prince could not ſuffer him to doubt of the ſucceſs of the project of his predeceſſor, which he had warmly eſpouſed, yet the expence attending it, and the uncertain event of all human enterpriſes, determined him not to undertake any thing before he had firſt conſulted the opinion of his council. The Portugueze ſtateſmen were divided in their ſentiments. Thoſe who favoured the diſcoveries, urged, the vaſt wealth and power ariſing from the com-

merce of the Indies, which had enriched and aggrandized all thoſe nations who had ever poſſeſſed it; the eaſineſs of an acquiſition, which providence had thrown in their way, and which was in ſome ſort already in their poſſeſſion; that nothing remained, but ſecurely to lay hold of what had been gotten with infinite hazard and expence; the diſhonour of leaving to other nations thoſe riches they had ſo dearly purchaſed, and which they only had any manner of right to; the glory of their country, of itſelf neither extenſive nor powerful, which this trade would render as independent and flouriſhing as her neighbouring ſtates; the danger of abandoning to the Spaniards, the natural enemies of their nation, a trade which would enable them to bring about whatever their unbounded ambition might ſuggeſt; finally, they conjured him to tread in the footſteps of his forefathers, and to ſeize the glory of accompliſhing what they had begun with ſo much reputation.

On the other ſide it was pleaded, that expeditions in which ſo much time was conſumed, and which were alſo ſo full of uncertainty, were far from being the moſt neceſſary undertakings to a kingdom ſo thin of inhabitants, whoſe vaſt plains lay waſte for want of huſbandmen, whilſt the people depended upon ſtrangers for their daily bread; that it was abſurd in this ſituation of things to ſquander the lives of the people in conqueſts, whoſe only advantage had been the purchaſe of a few elephants teeth, ſtrange birds, and other womaniſh curioſities; and certain ſlaves, as ſavage

as the wild beaſts inhabiting the ſame foreſts: that all they had been amuſed with for above a century paſt, had proved nothing at laſt but deceitful expectations, and golden dreams, which, by the infinite expence attending them, expoſed a nation, worn and exhauſted like theirs by the calamities of war, to manifeſt perils; and whoſe intereſts in time might come to be ſacrificed to thoſe of their foreign acquiſitions, ſuppoſing it probable they ſhould ever be ſo fortunate as to make any.

The king believed he could not with honour relinquiſh an enterprize recommended to him by that great prince, to whom he owed his diadem, with his lateſt breath. This perſuaſion, and the fortune of the Spaniards, who had puſhed their diſcoveries with infinite ſucceſs, finally determined him to attempt this important work; notwithſtanding that the condition of his kingdom did not permit him to begin it in a manner worthy the fame and reputation of ſo great a prince. He gave orders to equip a ſquadron of four ſhips, whereof three were of ſome force, the other a ſtore-ſhip. This ſmall flota, manned with a hundred and fifty ſeamen, was commanded by Vaſquez de Gama, a man of high pedigree, and whoſe exalted virtue rendered him worthy to be at the head of ſuch an expedition.

On the ninth day of July, 1497, Vaſquez embarked aboard the Admiral, a ſhip of one hundred and twenty tons burthen. After a long courſe in which he ſuffered greatly from the perils of the ſeas, from diſeaſes which preyed upon his ſoldiers,

from the treachery of thoſe barbarous nations he was obliged to viſit in his paſſage, and who out of hatred to chriſtianity had conſpired their deſtruction, over all which his invincible conſtancy triumphed; and after a navigation which laſted eleven months did this chief caſt anchor in the road of Calicut on the coaſt of India properly ſo called 1498.

That part of Aſia which has moſt relation to the commerce carried on from Europe to the Eaſt, runs along the ſea-ſhore, and contains the following diviſions. The firſt, ſituated the moſt weſterly of all, commences at the mouth of the Red-ſea, in twelve degrees and forty minutes north latitude, and reaches to the gulph of Perſia. From the mouth of the Red-ſea to the city Aden is a ſpace of forty-four leagues; thence to Cape Phartac, in fourteen degrees thirty minutes, are one hundred leagues, containing theſe towns, Abiam, Ax, Canacan, Brun, Argil, Zehel the metropolis, Kerit, Cayem, and Phartac. From hence to Curia-muria are ſeventy leagues; in which are, Dhofar, a city famous for its frankincenſe, and twenty leagues beyond it the city Norbate. From Curia-muria to Cape Ras-Algat in twenty-two degrees thirty minutes north latitude, lies a coaſt quite barren and deſart, one hundred and twenty leagues in length. At this Cape begins the kingdom of Ormuz, whence to cape Muſaldan are ninety leagues, with theſe cities, Calayat, Curiat, Maſcate, Zoar, Calata, Orfacam, Doba, and Lima, eight leagues from Mombaſam, the Cape Aſſaborum of Ptolemy, ſituated

ſituated in twenty-ſix degrees of northern latitude. This tract is known to Europeans by the name of Arabia Felix, becauſe the moſt fruitful and beſt inhabited of all the Arabia's: its name in the language of the country is Yemen or Ayaman.

The ſecond diviſion, called Chirman, ſtretches from Cape Jaſkes to the mouth of the Indus. This waſte is divided into two kingdoms, Macran and Madel, with the following towns; Guadel, Calara, Tibique, Calamate, Goadel and Diul. This tract is barren, and great part of it uninhabited.

The third diviſion contains one hundred and fifty leagues of extent, as follows; thirty-eight from Diul to Cape Jaquete or Jigat; and from thence to Diu in the kingdom of Guzarate, fifty more, with theſe places, Colinna, Mangalor, Chervan, Patan and Covinar; from Diu to Cambaya, fifty leagues, and in this ſpace theſe towns, Madrafavat, Mocha, Talita, Goda and Gundia. Between Cambaya and Jaquete is included a part of the kingdom of Guzarate, with the mountain country of the Reſbouto's.

The fourth diviſion of the Aſian coaſt contains two hundred and ninety leagues. This is by far the richeſt part of all India, and the moſt reſorted to on account of traffic. Two rivers which run from Eaſt to Weſt divide this region into three parts. The firſt ſeparates the kingdom of Decan from that of Guzarate, which lies north of it; the other parting Decan from the kingdom of Canara, its ſouthern frontier. There are

beſides, other rivers, all of which have their ſprings in the mountain Gate: the chief of theſe is called Ganga, or Guenga, which pours its waters into the ocean near the mouth of the Ganges, between the cities Angali and Piſolta, in about twenty-two degrees of latitude. The river Bate ſprings from the ſame mountain, and loſes itſelf in the ſea near Bombaim or Bombay, ſeparating the kingdoms of Guzarate and Decan. From the city Camabya to the mouth of this river, are ſeventy leagues; and from Chaoul ſouth of it to the river Alliga, the ſouthern boundary of Decan, are ſeventy-five leagues, with the towns, Bandor, Daboul, Debetele, Sintapori, Coropatan, Banda, Chapora, and Goa, an archiepiſcopal ſee, and the metropolis of the Portugueze in India.

The third portion or diſtrict of this diviſion begins where the kingdom of Canara joins that of Decan, and ends at Cape Comorin, containing one hundred and forty leagues of coaſt. From this river to mount Delli is about forty-ſix leagues. The towns in this ſpace are, Onor, Baticale, Barcalor, Baranor, and others of the province of Canara belonging to the king of Biſnagar. Below this to Cape Comorin, are ninety-three leagues. This tract is called Malabar, and comprehends three kingdoms which own no ſuperior. That of Cananor occupies twenty leagues of the coaſt, in which are the cities Cota, Coulam, Nilichilam, Cananor the metropolis in the latitude of twelve degrees, Tremopatam, Cheba, Maim, and Purepatam. Here begins the kingdom of Calicut, which runs twenty-ſeven leagues along the coaſt,

and

and has the towns following, Calicut the metropolis, in ſomewhat more than eleven degrees north latitude, Caulate, Chale, Parangale, and Tanor the head of a kingdom, ſubject to the zamorin or emperor of Calicut, and Chatua the laſt boundary of this empire. Next to this lies the little kingdom of Cranganor, which borders on that of Cochin; then that of Coulan, and laſtly, Travancor ſubject to Narſinga. Near to Travancor is the famous Cape Comorin, the moſt ſouthern point of land of this province of Indoſtan, or India within the Ganges. It lies in ſeven degrees and a half north of the equinoctial, where ends the coaſt of Malabar, and the fourth of the nine portions into which the maritime Aſia is divided.

From Cape Comorin on the weſtern ſide to Cape Cincapûra eaſtward, the ſouthermoſt land of the peninſula of Malacca, vulgarly held the ſame with the Aurea Cherſoneſus of ancient geographers, is a ſpace of four hundred leagues. Within this interval lies the great bay of Bengal, by ſome called the Sinus Gangeticus, becauſe the river Ganges after watering the country of Bengal, falls into this gulph, in about the latitude of twenty-three degrees. This river is admired for the quantity of water it rolls along, and is eſteemed holy by the neighbouring people, who are carried when at the point of death, to die with their feet in its water, out of a belief that this ceremony conduces to their happineſs in a future ſtate. This perſuaſion brings the king a conſiderable revenue; for none are permitted to waſh in it without

out paying for that privilege. This river has many outlets, but two are remarkable above others; theſe are Satigan weſtward, and Chatigan towards the Eaſt, there being an interval of almoſt one hundred leagues between theſe two channels: this part terminates the fifth of the nine diviſions, which may be ſubdivided into the three following portions; the firſt formed by the kingdom of Biſnagar, contains two hundred leagues, including theſe towns, Tarancurii, Manapar, Vaipar, Trechendur, Caligrande, Characale, Tutuconin, Benbar, Calicare, Beadala, Manancort and Canarneira, which laſt gives name to a cape near it ſtretching out in ten degrees of north latitude; then follows Negapatam, Hahor, Trimirapatan, Tragambar, Trimenava, Colororam, Puducheira, Calapate, Connumeira, Sadrapatan and Meliapor, now called St. Thomas. From hence to Palicata are nine leagues; then you find theſe places, Chiricole, Aremogan, Caloturo, Caleciro, Pentipolii, where the kingdom of Biſnagar ends, and where that of Orixa begins, which forms the ſecond part of this diviſion, containing about one hundred and twenty leagues to Cape Palmeiras, with the following towns or cities, Penacote, Calingan, Viripatan, Bimilepatan, Narſingapatan, Puacatan, Caregare, and others. At this laſt begins the third part, which is the kingdom of Bengala, extending above one hundred leagues. The ſixth of the nine diviſions begins at the eaſtern mouth of the Ganges, or Chatigan, and ends at Cape Cincapûra, in a little more than one degree of north latitude. This coaſt contains about three hundred

dred and eighty leagues. To Cape Negraes, in the latitude of ſixteen degrees ſouth are one hundred leagues with theſe towns, Sore, Satatolu, Arracam the metropolis of the kingdom ſo called, and Dunadiva ſituated upon the point Ilence to Tavay in the latitude of thirteen, are ſixteen leagues. This is the extent of the kingdom of Pegu. From Tavay to Cincapûra are two hundred and twenty leagues; the chief towns on this coaſt are Martaban, Cugor, Tanacorin, Lungor, Pedam, Queda, Solongor, and Malacca, the head city of the kingdom. At Cincapûra begins the ſeventh diviſion, ending at the great river of Siam, which falls into the ſea in the latitude of fourteen degrees, and flows out of the lake Chiamman, by the natives called Menam, that is, ſource of waters: upon this coaſt are the towns Pam, Ponciam, Calantaon, Patane, Ligor, Cuii, Perperii, and Bamplacot, ſeated at the opening of the river.

The eighth diviſion contains the following kingdoms; that of Cambodia, thro' which runs the Mecon, a river whoſe ſprings ariſe in China; that of Champa, or Triompa, whence comes the true and genuine aloës. On this borders the kingdom of Cochin-China; next to that, the empire of China, comprehending fifteen provinces or governments, each of them equal in riches, power, and extent, to great kingdoms; thoſe on the ſea are, Quangtung, Tokien, Chekiang, where ends the eighth diviſion of the ſea coaſt of the eaſtern world.

The

The ninth begins with the province of Nankin, and continues thro' thoſe of Cantung and Pecheli, running on to the fartheſt diſcovered land of the coaſt of Tartary.

The principal iſlands waſhed by the Aſiatic ſeas, are the Maldives, Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Banda, Timori, Celebes, the Moluccos, Mindane, Luconia and Japan.

All that tract which ſtretches from the river Cincatora oppoſite to the iſland Angediva, towards the weſt, is ſubject to the Moors or Mahometans, and from thence eaſtward, to pagan or gentile nations, excepting however the kingdom of Malacca, part of Sumatra, and ſome parts of Java and the Malacca iſlands, which are held by the Moors. In that region which is governed by theſe latter, are the following ſovereign princes. The kings of Adeſt, Xael, and Phartac, who poſſeſs many ports of vaſt trade, and whoſe ſubjects the Arabs are both courageous and warlike. Next to theſe is the kingdom of Ormuz, greater than the other three put together; then you find the prince of Cambodia, in grandeur and military power not inferior to Xerxes, Darius, or Porus. From Chaoul to Cincatory, the country belonged to Nizamalucco and Hidalean, two powerful princes, equal to great kings, who maintained great armies, compoſed of ſundry warlike nations well armed. The Moors of Sumatra, Malacca, and the Moluccos, were well diſciplined, and much better provided with artillery than the Portugueze who invaded their countries. The heathen

heathen or gentile princes, are the kings of Biſnagar, Orixa, Bengala, Pegu, Siam, and China, all of them, but chiefly the laſt, ſo prodigiouſly powerful as almoſt exceeds belief. Siam extends above five hundred leagues, and has ſeven kingdoms belonging to it, which are Cambadia, Como, Lanchaam, Cheneray, Cheneram, Chiamay, Camburii, and Chaïpumo. The king has thirty thouſand elephants, whereof he carries out three thouſand armed to war; and Udia the metropolis of his empire is ſaid to be capable to ſend into the field fifty thouſand fighting men. The emperor of China alone, in innumerable multitudes of people, and vaſt extent of territory, is believed not only to exceed any of the Aſiatic princes, but even all the potentates and ſtates of Europe put together. China is a tract above ſeven hundred leagues in length, has all ſorts of metals in vaſt abundance, ſurpaſſes Europe in the quantity and value of its manufactures, ſome of which ſeem to exceed the powers of human wit; and the ſilks, proviſions, and pleaſures with which it abounds, are paſt all computation.

About ſix hundred years before the arrival of the Portugueze in India, reigned in Malabar, a king ſo powerful, that their common æra begun from his reign, as it did afterwards from the arrival of the Portugueze. He was perſuaded by the Moors who traded in his ports, to turn mahometan, and gave them leave to build the city of Calicut. Being grown old, he divided his kingdoms amongſt his kindred: to the chief of his relations, he gave the kingdom of Coulan, where

where he ſeated the principal ſee of the religion of the Bramins, giving the prince the title of Cobritim, a title equivalent to that of high prieſt. He gave his nephew the city of Calicut, with all the temporal or civil dominion, calling him Zamorin, the ame in ſignification as king or emperor. This laſt dignity ſtill continues in the ſame place; the other has been tranſlated to Cochin. Having diſpoſed of his dominions, he ſet out for Mecca, where he reſolved to end his days, but was drowned by the way.

Calicut is a plain level country, well watered, fruitful in pepper and ginger, its neighbours ſupplying it with the other ſpiceries. The people much addicted to ſuperſtition. Children are not permitted to follow any profeſſion but that of their fathers, nor to intermarry with thoſe of any other art or trade.

The nayres or nobles think themſelves polluted by the touch of the commonalty, and in that caſe purify themſelves by waſhing, like the Jews after touching a dead corpſe. The women of this nobleſs are common to all of that order, but eſpecially to the Bramins. For this reaſon no perſon knows his father, and none are under any obligation to maintain their offspring. They begin to handle their weapons at the age of ſeven years, and are moſt dextrous and expert at this exerciſe. They practiſe all the manners of divination in uſe among the ancients.

Vaſquez firſt of all applied himſelf to learn the genius and manners of the people, the nature of the ſoil, the produce of the country, the nature of

of its government, and the character of thoſe who ruled. He found the Moors, the ancient enemies of his nation and religion, in abſolute poſſeſſion of the trade. It was neceſſary above all things to gain the good will of this nation. He had the addreſs to remove this almoſt inſurmountable difficulty, gaining over, in ſpite of his hereditary hatred of the Portugueze nation, the agent of the moriſco merchants, who was at the ſame time a ſort of miniſter to the ſovereign of the country. The Moor told him that Calicut, the city he now beheld, was the capital of a great empire, whoſe ſovereigns bore the title of Zamorin or emperor; that his eſtates which were moſtly maritime extended over all the coaſt of Malabar. Moreover, he offered his ſervice to Gama in promoting his intereſt with the emperor, to whom he had conſtant acceſs. He performed his promiſe; he haſtened to the court, where he magnified the Portugueze nation beyond all bounds. He told the emperor, that a certain warlike, powerful, and wealthy nation had come from the ends of the earth to ſeek his friendſhip, and to deſire leave to trade with his people. The Zamorin, moved with ſo pompous an account, admitted Gama to an audience without delay, in which he appeared in all the pomp and ſplendor uſual with the monarchs of the Eaſt; and wherein the Portugueze orator was received with all the reſpect due to the ambaſſador of ſo renowned a people. But the friendſhip of theſe merchants, ſo little conſiſtent with their intereſts, was of no long duration. For as ſoon

ſoon as they were ſenſible of the conſequences of the ſettlement of the Portugueze to their traffic, they repented of what they had done: and finding that they had outwitted themſelves, they began to repreſent the Portugueze as a moſt ambitious, deceitful, and cruel people, who meant nothing leſs than to dethrone the emperor, and to enſlave his country; theſe diſcourſes kindled the jealouſy of the Zamorin. He therefore made haſte to prevent the deſigns of the Portugueze by their utter deſtruction.

Vaſquez ſaw in his behaviour the revenge he meant to conceal, and retired to his ſhips. From hence he ſent letters to the Zamorin: he complained of the injuſtice of ſuſpicions which treated him as the baſeſt of traitors, demonſtrated his own innocence, and reproached him with the violation of his faith, and of the laws of hoſpitality to the ſubjects of a nation, whoſe honourable intentions deſerved very different uſage. He accuſed the mahommedans of being the authors of theſe injuries, and gave the prince to underſtand, that the friendſhip of the monarch, whoſe ambaſſador he had affronted, was of more value to him than that of all the mahometan princes in the univerſe put together. The Zamorin began to ſee matters with other eyes. In his anſwer, which was humble and ſubmiſſive, he caſt the blame of all upon his miniſters, and the mohammedans, by whom he ſaid he had been deceived, promiſing to make ſtrict ſearch into the affair, and to puniſh the guilty with the utmoſt rigour. To theſe apologies he added letters

ters for king Emanuel, full of reſpect, and with repeated aſſurances that from henceforwards the Portugueze nation ſhould meet with the kindeſt reception, with entire freedom to trade, ſo long as they did not offer to diſturb the tranquillity of the ſtate, nor moleſt thoſe of the religion of Mohammed, whom for reaſons of ſtate, he ſaid, he could not break with. With this excuſe Gama made haſte to return into his own country, and in the month of September 1499 arrived in the port of Liſbon, having ſpent in this important diſcovery two years and two months, in which thro' ſickneſs and fatigues, he had loſt an hundred of his men, and amongſt thoſe his own brother. Emanuel received him with the higheſt marks of honour and eſteem, ſent out the principal nobility of his kingdom to meet him, and to welcome him to a country, which his labours and virtue had ſo much adorned. He heaped rewards and honours upon him; beſtowed with his own hands rich preſents on the officers and private men, praiſing all who had been in the expedition as perſons who had deſerved well of the public. Finally, he gave ſolemn and public thanks to almighty God and to Gama, for theſe happy ſucceſſes, ſo far tranſcending his expectations.

CHAP. V.

Voyage of Cabrale, *being the ſecond of the Portugueze nation into the Eaſt, alſo that of* John de Nueva.

WHEREFORE a ſecond expedition was reſolved. This was unanimouſly approved of, the proſperous event of the laſt perſuading thoſe who could be overcome by no other reaſons. No expence was thought too large for the new expedition, and none promoted it with more eagerneſs than they who had been the greateſt oppoſers of the former.

A fleet conſiſting of thirteen ſail, whereof ſome were ſhips of great burthen, was equiped, and manned in a manner fit to ſupport the credit of the Portugueze nation, and the advantageous idea which Gama had given of their power and riches. All men's expectations had been raiſed by the glory of thoſe atchievements, and the hopes of the profit that was to enſue from them. It was firſt conſulted in what manner to proſecute what had been begun; and it was reſolved, that according to the diſpoſitions they had found in the people of the Eaſt, there was more hopes from an armed force than from other meaſures. For this reaſon this armament was prepared. Rich preſents were added, for the emperor, a cuſtom of old ſtanding amongſt the princes of the Eaſt, the omiſſion of which had occaſioned a great part of the difficulties which Gama had experienced

experienced in the former expedition. Prieſts were alſo ſent to convert the natives; but leſt the chriſtian auſterity ſhould prove too weak againſt the diſſoluteneſs of the inſtitutions of Mahomet, a force of fifteen hundred veterans were embarked to ſupport the cauſe of trade and of chriſtianity. The ſubſtance of their inſtructions was, to begin by preaching, the authority and ſanctity of religion, and the ſofter methods of perſuaſion; if theſe failed, to proceed to the deciſion of the ſword.

On the eighth of March 1500, the king with his own hands delivered to the admiral Pedro Alvarez de Cabrale the flag of the Holy Croſs, while the ſhore was covered with people who thronged to ſee that fleet ſail which was to conquer the Eaſt.

At firſt they ſailed with a favourable gale; but ſome time after, the roughneſs of the weather drove them upon a coaſt ſituated in ten degrees beyond the line, where they ſaw a tawny people with lank hair and flat faces, who went naked, and were armed with bows and arrows. They fled from the Portugueze, till halting upon an eminence, they were ſpoke to in ſeveral languages, and alſo by ſigns, but in vain. The fleet paſſed on, and on Eaſter eve anchored in a port, which they called Seguro from the ſhelter it afforded them. The people at this place being affable, the Europeans landed, and erecting an altar under a tree, maſs was celebrated, and a ſermon preached, at which the heathens were preſent with wonderful attention. The admiral

ſent a ſhip to advertiſe the king of this diſcovery, and ſetting up the ſign of the croſs on a great tree, called the country Sancta Cruz, or the Land of the Holy Croſs. He alſo left there two Portugueze who had been baniſhed their country for crimes, to make enquiry into the language and manners of the people, and to learn the produce of the country. This is that wide region of the new world ſince called Brazil, from the abundance of the wood of that name which it produces. Not long after was ſeen a comet or blazing ſtar, whoſe flaming train ſeemed to kindle all the heavens, and terrified all who ſaw it. It vaniſhed in eight days. This was the forerunner of that dreadful ſtorm which aroſe on the twenty-third at night, from the north-eaſt quarter, mingled with rain. Such was its violence that they expected every moment to be ſwallowed up by the waves; the day was ſo overſpread with thick darkneſs, that they could not diſcern one another, and ſo great was the roaring of the winds and billows, that a man's voice could not be heard. The furious winds ſwelling the waves as high as mountains; one moment they ſeemed to be toſſed above the clouds, the next, plunged to the bottom of the deep; in the day the water ſeemed black as pitch, and at night appeared like flames of fire. In this miſerable condition they continued twenty days, in which periſhed four ſhips, with all their men, and amongſt theſe the famous Bartholomew Diaz, the firſt who paſſed the Cape of Good-Hope. On the ſixteenth of July, they arrived on the coaſt of

Zofala,

Zofala, with ſix ſhattered ſhips in great diſtreſs. Thence they proceeded to Mozambique, where the admiral refreſhed his weary mariners; from thence to Quiloa, from that to Melinda, from which laſt a favourable wind attended them to the iſlands of Angediva. Here he careened his ſhips, and ſet out for Calicut, which they diſcovered the ſeventeenth of September. The natives, ſeized with admiration and gladneſs, at the ſight of the European fleet, ran in crowds to the ſhore. The principal nobility came out to welcome the Portugueze admiral. Firſt of all the manner was ſettled in which the king and admiral ſhould meet, and this was done with great circumſpection. Cabrale demanded that ſix hoſtages might be ſent on board for his own and his people's ſafety, and thoſe of the family or tribe of the Bramins, which was granted at laſt. The embaſſy was delivered with great ſtate; its purport was to conclude a peace, and to ſettle a trade to thoſe parts. After much delay, proceeding from the jealouſy of the king, and the artifices of the Moors, a peace was concluded, the hoſtages delivered, liberty to trade granted, and a houſe given for the convenience of traffic. Correa the firſt factor took poſſeſſion of it with ſixty men, choſen for their ſtrength and boldneſs.

After all, they could not procure goods ſufficient for a loading. Complaints were made to the king, but no redreſs. What occaſioned this was the enmity between two Mooriſh governors, one intendant of the ſea, the other of the land affairs. This laſt was offended that the Portugueze factor had

made greater application to the other than to himſelf, and contrived to be revenged in the following manner. He was informed that there had ſailed from Cochin, a city about thirty leagues diſtant, a very great ſhip of Ceylon, bound for Cambaya with elephants, which muſt paſs in view of the Portugueze fleet. He told the factor, that the owners had refuſed one of thoſe animals to the deſire of the king; that by taking that ſhip the admiral would oblige the king, forward their own buſineſs, and poſſeſs himſelf of a great quantity of ſpices which the merchants of Mecca had on board her. His deſign was, that the Portugueze ſhould ſuffer in the attempt, that ſhip being of great force; and to this purpoſe he gave notice of it to the owners, that they might be the better provided; or in caſe that ſhould miſgive, he hoped the Portugueze would thereby diſoblige the merchants of Cochin. The admiral fell into the ſnare. He diſpatched the ſhip St. Peter, commanded by Peter de Ataida, after the ſhip of Cochin, who gave her chace. She made no account of the Portugueze veſſel, till the cannon taking ſome effect, and the balls reaching her, ſhe bore down upon the Portugueze pouring in volleys of ſhot; ſhe then made off, but was purſued, and taken in the bay of Cananor. There were ſeven elephants aboard, whereof one was killed by a cannon ball. This contrivance produced this advantage; to diſcover the author, to terrify the king of Calicut, ſeeing ſuch a veſſel taken by one not above the ſixth part of her bulk, and to gain his friendſhip: for

the

the admiral diſcovering the fraud, reſtored the ſhip to the owners, making ſatisfaction for the damage they had ſuſtained. Here it was that Duarte Pacheco gave the firſt marks of that heroic valour, which afterwards made him renowned thro' all the world.

This affair turned to their advantage, but not that which followed; for after waiting three months, only two ſhips were loaded, and that at a high charge. The Portugueze factor ſuſpecting that the Moors loaded by night, and ſo hindered the others, complained to the king, who ordered him to make prize of the boats employed in that clandeſtine traffic. After ſearch made nothing was found, this being only a contrivance of the Moors to incenſe the common people againſt the Portugueze. And indeed ſo it fell out. Immediately a multitude of Indians run to arms, aſſault the Portugueze houſe, burſt open the gates, pillage, burn, and maſſacre all that come in their way; of ſixty-ſix Portugueze who were in it, fifty were butchered, the reſt eſcaping to the ſhips boats, ſent aſhore to receive them. The admiral ſufficiently revenged the loſs of his countrymen; he diſcharged his artillery on fifteen large Mooriſh ſhips which lay in the harbour, moſt of which were deſtroyed in the flames, or periſhed in the waves, together with the greateſt part of their crews; the few who were ſaved from that deſtruction were made ſlaves. Then turning his cannon upon the city, he battered it with two days inceſſant fire, above ſix hundred inhabitants were buried in its ruins.

A cannon ball killed one of the emperor's favourite lords ſo near him, that he was covered with blood. This accident terrified him to ſuch a degree, that he fled out of the city in the utmoſt precipitancy and confuſion.

He then ſailed for Cochin, a city thirty leagues ſouth of Calicut, and the metropolis of a kingdom the moſt fertile in ſpiceries of all the countries of Indoſtan. Trimumpara who now reigned here was at war with the Zamorin, which latter had gained the hatred of all the neighbouring princes. Thoſe of Cochin and Cananor in particular were deſirous of an opportunity to break with him; for which cauſe they ſtrove to draw the Portugueze fleets to their ports. The king of Coulan was alſo ſollicitous to be admitted into their friendſhip. Wherefore the admiral was well received at Cochin, where he had liberty to trade for what quantity of ſpices he pleaſed. His cargo being completed, he proceeded to Cananor, both to oblige the king to whom he had promiſed a viſit, and alſo to ſhew that he was not afraid of the threats of the Zamorin. The king received him with open arms, provided him with what merchandize he yet wanted, and having concluded an alliance with the admiral, he ſent on board an ambaſſador, who was to accompany thoſe of Cochin and Coulan into Portugal. The fleet laden with immenſe riches ſet ſail for Europe, having on board the ambaſſadors of three Indian potentates.

Theſe proceedings were not hid from the Zamorin.

morin. He reſolved to uſe all his efforts to deſtroy the effects of this formidable alliance, which threatened him with new enemies from the other hemiſphere. He ſent out a powerful fleet to deſtroy the Portugueze: but the ſuperior ſkill of the Europeans baffled his deſigns. The Portugueze out-ſailing the Indian navy, arrived ſafe in the Tagus in July 1501.

Before this fleet returned, there ſailed from Liſbon four ſhips with four hundred men on board, commanded by John de Nueva, a man well ſkilled in maritime affairs. After ſeveral diſcoveries they arrived at Cananor. The king, deſirous to detain the Portugueze fleet in his harbours, told the admiral that the Zamorin was coming againſt him with forty great ſhips. This intelligence had a contrary effect to that which the king expected from it. For de Nueva, leſt it ſhould be believed that he ſtaid at Cananor out of fear, ſet ſail for Cochin, leaving ſome perſons behind to prepare the merchandize againſt his return. In the road of Calicut they came up with the fleet of the Zamorin. The engagement began at day-break. It proved both bloody and obſtinate, the event continuing doubtful the whole day. At laſt the approach of the night brought victory to the Portugueze. Fortune went over to that ſide on which were ſuperior ſkill and ſuperior valour. The fleet of the barbarians gave way, having had ten great ſhips buried in the waves, beſides barks and other ſmall veſſels whoſe conſtruction is peculiar to thoſe countries; and

more

more than four hundred men kille
action.

The meaſures which had been pur
the hoſtile condition of the eaſtern
made it neceſſary to ſend a force into t
ſufficient to ſtrike terror into their en
protect their allies, and to preſerve t
queſts. Beſides it ſeemed evident, t
tempt the empire of the Eaſt, there wa
for a force proportionable to that und
that otherwiſe it were more adviſeable t
it altogether. Some were of this laſt
but the glory of ſo great an atchieve
vailed; and though many lives and m
ſure had been loſt in it, notwithſtan
riches of thoſe who had returned, wer
deration which outweighed the hazar
attempt. Moreover the king was inſp
the hopes of enriching and aggrandizing
dom, and of adding to the glory of his
praiſe of having been the ſecond plante
ſtianity in the Eaſt. The riches of this
fic ſupplied the means. Liſbon was b
ſome part the capital of all the trading
Europe. Strangers flocked hither from
ters, and the ſtocks of the merchants
nations were ſent into Portugal, to be
in a trade ſo lucrative and ſo univerſa
Emanuel became the maſter of the
Europe and the Indies. And nothing
difficult to a prince whoſe exchequer
with ſo vaſt a treaſure.

CHAP. VI.

De Gama *ſails into the* Indies *a ſecond time.*

WHerefore in order to ſupport the high reputation he had acquired amongſt ſo many powerful and diſtant nations, he determined to ſend out a great power. In the month of March three ſquadrons put to ſea; the firſt, which conſiſted of ten ſhips, was commanded by Vaſquez de Gama, now on his ſecond voyage to the Indies; the ſecond of five ſhips, under Vincent Sodrez, whoſe orders were to ſcour the coaſts of Cochin and Cananor, and to ruin the trade of Mecca by guarding the mouth of the Red-ſea; the third under the flag of Stephen de Gama: the whole amounting to twenty ſhips, all under the orders of Vaſquez de Gama.

Quiloa felt the firſt effects of his reſentment for their ill uſage to his countrymen. The place was cannonaded, and the king made tributary to Portugal. Sailing thence he ordered his fleet to ſpread, that ſo no ſhip might paſs unſeen. Several captures were made, but thoſe of Calicut were more ſeverely treated than all others. Amongſt theſe latter, a ſhip belonging to the ſultan of Caïro laden with immenſe riches fell into his hands. As ſhe expected no enemy, ſhe ſtruck without reſiſtance. Boats were ſent out to ſeize this veſſel, in which were two hundred and ſixty Moors, beſides above fifty women and children. Their orders were to take out their goods, and to ſet fire to the ſhip with all her people aboard her. The Moors perceiving

ing their intention, laid hold of ſuch weap
fortune threw in their way, beat off the
gueze boats, a ſhip coming up to their affi
was almoſt taken, but being relieved by an
and the admiral coming up, the enemy
boarded, and burnt with all on board, exc
twenty infants only who were afterward
tized. Thus periſhed that gallant com
whoſe bravery merited a better fate.

The admiral then proceeded to Cananor,
after diſmiſſing his ambaſſadors, he had an
view with the king, in which the former al
was renewed, and perſons appointed to ſet
fairs relating to commerce. He then ſent
king of Calicut, to let him know that the f
the Moors was no more than an earneſt o
vengeance he meant to take of his capital, c
count of the Portugueze killed by his pe
Thus ſaying, he advanced to perform his
miſe.

On his way there met him a boat, in w
were four of the nobles of Calicut, whom
Zamorin had ſent with offers extorted thro
of the approaching danger. Vaſquez, diſſat
with their propoſals, ſtill proceeded. The
was now under a neceſſity of preparing fo
defence; but in vain. The terror of the art
threw all into confuſion: thirty Moors
hanged at the yard arms and thrown into th
after having their hands and feet cut off, in
that their mangled corſes being caſt aſhore b
tide, theIndians might read in them what
had to expect from ſuch enemies. Then ſe
fire to a ſhip he had taken, he ſet ſail, lea

the Zamorin and city in terror and conſternation.

Mean time the Zamorin, a crafty and enraged enemy, left nothing undone to deſtroy the Portugueze, whoſe cruelty made them ſtill more deteſted, and who beſides fomented the rebellion of his vaſſals. He employed force and fraud to compaſs his ends. He ſent privately to Trimumpara with unbounded offers, if he would betray the Portugueze commander into his hands. The faith of the barbarous prince prevailed over thoſe temptations. He made anſwer, that the Portugueze nation had ever uſed him with fidelity and honour, and that he would periſh rather than abandon them. The Zamorin irritated with this bold anſwer, and deſpairing to overcome the virtue of Trimumpara, redoubled his efforts, reſolving to attempt by open force that which he could not accompliſh by ſtratagem. He aſſembled a fleet of nine and twenty ſhips of force, determining to attack Vaſquez on his return to Europe, when his fleet being heavy loaded and unmanageable ſhould be unable to reſiſt.

In order to favour this deſign the following ſtratagem was put in practice, with a view probably to render the admiral ſecure of going home unmoleſted.

Whilſt the ſhips were loading at Cochin, a Bramin of ſuperior rank offered himſelf to Vaſquez, together with his ſon and his nephew, ſignifying a deſire of coming to Portugal in order to be inſtructed in the chriſtian religion: at the ſame time he propoſed expedients for bringing about a reconciliation with the king of Calicut.

As

As he conſented that his ſon and nephew ſhould remain as hoſtages for his good faith, he eaſily found credit. In this belief the admiral ſailed for Calicut in a great ſhip, accompanied with no more than one caravel, becauſe he expected to meet Sodrez who was gone to ſet on ſhore the ambaſſadors. Sodrez had been attacked by the Moors, and had ſet out for Cananor. The Bramin was ſent aſhore, and pretending to carry meſſages backwards and forwards, gave time for fitting out an hundred great boats called paraos, which ſuddenly ſurrounding the admiral, attempted to board him, and to ſet fire to his ſhip with compoſitions of combuſtible matter. The flames already began to catch, when cutting his cable, he diſentangled himſelf from the fire-ſhip, and ſtood out to ſea. The enemy ſtill purſued him in their boats, and he had ran great hazard of falling into their hands, had not Sodrez, informed of the danger of the admiral by the caravel which he had diſpatched the moment he miſſed his vice-admiral, come up in the moment of danger. And now they charge the enemy with ſo much fury, that they are forced to fly with vaſt loſs. The hoſtages were hanged at the yard arms, and then ſent aſhore in a boat, with a letter for the Zamorin, offering him that preſent in return for his treachery. After this victory and deliverance, he ſet ſail for Cananor with ten ſhips. Near Paderane he was met by twenty-nine ſhips belonging to the Zamorin: this fleet well manned and expedite, and elated with the hopes of conqueſt, came down at once upon him. But the experience of Vaſquez was not to be defeated

ſeated by any power in thoſe parts. In order to increaſe their ſecurity and confidence of victory, he ordered his fleet not to engage for ſome time, but to ſuffer the enemy to come cloſe up to them without oppoſition. And now, when they were come as near as he intended, he gave the ſignal to engage, when immediately his great artillery pouring their ſhot into two of the largeſt of the enemy, did ſuch execution, that the ſoldiers aboard them, ſtruck with terror at the havock, leaped into the ſea, eſteeming any ſort of death leſs terrible than that they fled from. Three hundred men were killed in this rencounter. The other ſhips, beholding the terrible fate of their companions, fled, ſpreading all the ſail the maſts could carry to bear them out of the reach of their enemies. This victory was crowned with immenſe riches found in the two captive ſhips, which laſt being burnt, the admiral ſet ſail for Europe.

Sodrez was left to protect the factories, and the allies of Portugal. The admiral continuing his voyage, arrived at Liſbon with nine ſhips heavy with riches. He was received with univerſal joy, amidſt the acclamations of multitudes of people who ran to behold the entry of Vaſquez, in which the tribute of the king of Quiloa was carried in ſilver baſons before him.

The Zamorin fearing to loſe the trade of Arabia and Egypt, the only traffic that now remained to his eſtates, and envying the power of the king of Cochin, ſupported by his enemies, reſolved to avenge his loſſes on this latter. Wherefore he made

made huge preparations for war; and aſſembled an army of fifty thouſand men to invade Cochin. The people of Cochin fearing ſo great a power, were for giving up the Portugueze to the Zamorin, who wiſhed for nothing more. But Trimumpara behaving with his wonted firmneſs, refuſed to yield to their clamour; and reſolving, notwithſtanding the puſillanimity of his ſubjects, to hazard all, rather than violate his own faith and the laws of hoſpitality, went out with a ſmall force to meet the enemy. At the firſt charge he was forſaken by ſome of his nobles; however, with the aſſiſtance of the Portugueze, he continued valiantly to maintain a paſs, till both his nephews being killed, whereof one was his general, he was forced to fly for ſafety to the iſland Vaipi, oppoſite to the city of Cochin, whither he had firſt ſent the Portugueze. This iſland had been of old conſecrated to the moſt awful and tremendous myſteries of the Indian worſhip, and had ever been deemed an inviolable azylum by all the princes of the Eaſt. It was moreover a place of extraordinary ſtrength; nature and art ſeemed to conſpire to render it impregnable. It was beſides provided with every thing neceſſary in a long ſiege, and was defended by a garriſon both numerous and reſolute.

The Zamorin, whoſe power nothing could withſtand, advanced againſt Viapan or Vaipi, for it is written both ways. Cochin was taken, burnt, and plundered. He then attacked this iſland whither Trimumpara had retired. He often gave the aſſault, and was as often repulſed with great ſlaughter,

ſlaughter, the governor ſtill preſerving his faith to his maſter amidſt his misfortunes, and the king ſtill refuſing to deliver up the Portugueze.

Things were in this poſture, when Sodrez the Portugueze admiral arrived with the ſquadron under his command. The king, overjoyed at the approach of relief, ſent to deſire he would land part of his men to aſſiſt in this dangerous extremity. Sodrez wanted not courage, but his inſatiable avarice ſullied all his military reputation. Taken up with the thoughts of enriching himſelf by the plunder of the Mooriſh veſſels, he made anſwer that his inſtructions limited his command to the ſeas, and that he was not at libery to land ſo much as one man; that the orders of his government were not to be diſpenſed with. So ſaying he left the coaſt, and ſet ſail for the Red-ſea in queſt of booty. This proceeding amazed the king, and enraged the ſubjects of Portugal, who were leſs concerned for their own ſafety, than for the honour of their country. For no arguments were capable to move this officer, enſlaved by the moſt contemptible of human paſſions. His fate was equal to his merits. His ſhip was loſt, and all aboard her, amongſt thoſe his own brother.

Altho' the ſeverity of the weather had obliged the Zamorin to break up from before Viapan, he had notwithſtanding taken all the precautions neceſſary for the ſecurity of Cochin, by erecting fortreſſes in the principal places. He had alſo thrown a ſtrong garriſon into the capital, at which laſt place he had erected a citadel; reſolving to return to the ſiege as ſoon as the weather would permit.

CHAP. VII.

Expedition of Alphonſo *and* Francis Albuquerque. *Acts of* Pacheco.

WHilſt the people of Cochin were beſieged in this iſland, there ſailed from Portugal nine ſhips under three diſtinct commanders. Theſe were Alphonſo de Albuquerque, Franciſco de Albuquerque, and Antonio de Saldanna. This laſt was to cruiſe upon the Moors in the mouth of the Red-ſea, and the others to return with the trade to Europe. Franciſco de Albuquerque arrived before the others, having been joined by the ſquadron of Sodrez, which he found in diſtreſs on the coaſt of India. Coming before the iſland, he ſaluted the king, to whom he ſent preſents, on the part of Emanuel, part whereof conſiſted in ten thouſand ducats in money. While he advanced to the ſhore, the king ran to embrace him, himſelf and his people weeping tears of joy. The admiral on his part ſaid all he could to comfort the prince, promiſing every thing he could expect from allies of whom he had ſo well deſerved. He told him at the ſame time, what further force there was upon the ſeas for his aſſiſtance.

He loſt no time, but fell upon thoſe who held the iſland of Cochin for the Zamorin, and killing vaſt numbers, he expelled the reſt. The prince of Repelin's lands were waſted with fire and ſword. The Zamorin's garriſons were every where driven out, his fortreſſes razed even with the ground, and the king of Cochin brought back with triumph to his capital.

The

The admiral took this opportunity to aſk leave to erect a fortreſs in Cochin. The king, whether out of gratitude to a people to whom he owed his deliverance and his diadem, or that he was not in a condition to refuſe it, granted him liberty to erect a ſtrong hold wherever he ſaw fit; forming by this condeſcenſion the fetters which were to deprive him and his people of their liberty.

Albuquerque knowing that a council of this nature might ſoon be repented of, loſt no time to execute an affair of ſuch moment. He made choice of an eminence which commanded at once the port and the city, drew the plan of the citadel, making all poſſible diſpatch to compleat this ſtrength, with ſuch materials as he could procure, the country affording neither ſtones nor mortar. The work was already well advanced, when Alphonſo de Albuquerque arrived. This general was ambitious of ſignalizing himſelf by ſome notable exploit under his own direction; wherefore aſſaulting a city of the country, a multitude of warlike Indians ſallying forth, brought him into great danger. At the ſame inſtant they were attacked by above thirty of the Zamorin's ſhips: but his brother Franciſco coming to his relief, the enemy were routed with great ſlaughter. Seven hundred were killed in the iſland Cabalam, whither they thought to ſecure themſelves. Duarte Pacheco deſtroyed another town, in which moſt of the inhabitants were cut to pieces. Whilſt the victorious Portugueze ſailed away, ſpent as they were with fatigue, they were attacked by another fleet of Calicut, conſiſting

of fifty ſail; this affair likewiſe turned out in favour of the former. A factory was now ſettled at Coulan, the kingdom of a rich and powerful prince, whoſe capital lay at twenty-four leagues diſtance ſouth from Cochin. The queen, who was guardian of the king her ſon then in his non-age, ſolliciting the friendſhip and protection of the Portugueze, was received into favour, on condition of freedom to traffic in the eſtates of this prince.

The Portugueze arms were now carried into the oppoſite coaſt of Africa. The king of Zanguebar was obliged to acknowledge the king of Portugal for his ſovereign; as was the city of Brava, a kind of commonwealth, which was compelled to pay an annual tribute. The king of Melinda, oppreſſed by the ſovereign of Mombaza, fled for ſanctuary and relief to the new lords of the Eaſt. Their friendſhip coſt him infinitely dear; for by this means he loſt at once, his quality, his eſtates, and his independence. His rival ſhared the ſame fate.

The great ſucceſſes and the growing power of the Portugueze terrified the Zamorin, ſo that changing his thirſt of vengeance into the loweſt ſubmiſſions, he ſued for peace. The conquerors granted it, impoſing what terms they themſelves thought proper. Part of thoſe conditions had been put in execution, when the Zamorin, probably affected with the ignominy of yielding to a foreign power, or inſtigated by the Moors, or moved by both thoſe conſiderations, put a ſtop to the reſt. He again proſecuted the war; reſolving

reſolving to extirpate thoſe ſtrangers, whoſe power was become ſo terrible, and to puniſh Trimumpara, whoſe ſimplicity, he ſaid, had enſlaved to them the Indian ſtates. Wherefore he prepared with incredible diligence and ſecrecy to fall upon the Portugueze fleet on their return home. But all his care to conceal his deſigns was ineffectual. Trimumpara, watchful for his own and his people's ſafety, penetrating his intentions, applyed himſelf to Alphonſo, beſeeching him not to leave his friends and allies without ſome force to protect them from the power of the Zamorin. The admiral moved by the juſtneſs of his requeſt, conſented that Duarte Pacheco with his own ſhips, and two caravels with one hundred and fifty men, ſhould remain in thoſe parts. Theſe matters thus ſettled, Alphonſo and Franciſco returned towards Europe. The former after a proſperous voyage, arrived ſafe, but Franciſco with the ſhips under his command were never more heard of.

Scarce had the Portugueze fleet quitted the ſhores of India, and were got out of ſight of land, when the Zamorin purpoſing to invade Cochin with all his power, called together the kings and lords of Malabar. There reſorted to him thoſe of Tanor, Beſpûr or Niſapûr, Cotugan and Chorin, with ten princes of equal power, beſides lords of inferior force. Fifty thouſand men were aſſembled as well for land as ſea ſervice. For this latter, there were four thouſand men in two hundred and eighty veſſels of ſeveral ſorts, and

three hundred and eighty cannon to batter the new fort. The remainder of this vaſt army, was to attack the ford of the river thro' which lay the paſſage to the iſland in which Cochin is ſeated. Theſe were commanded by Naubeadering, nephew and heir to the emperor, Elancol lord of Repelim.

The king of Cochin, ſeeing himſelf deſerted by his ſubjects, ſhewed ſome marks of fear: but Duarte Pacheco encouraged him, at the ſame time putting himſelf into a poſture of defence. The king of Cochin taking heart by his example, diſpoſed every thing to the beſt advantage, was preſent every where, leaving nothing to fortune which prudence could foreſee, and thus placing his truſt and confidence in the divine providence, he waited the event.

The diſpoſition made by Pacheco was as follows: In the ſhips were put twenty-five men; in the fort, thirty-nine; in the caravel twenty-ſix; twenty-three were put aboard a boat; and in another was Pacheco himſelf with twenty-two. Beſides theſe who were Portugueze, three hundred Malabars waited his orders, while the king with his own troops defended the city.

Three bloody and fierce encounters happened in diſputing the paſs. In the firſt the Zamorin loſt twenty paraos ſunk by the cannon, one hundred and eighty perſons of note, and above a thouſand private men. In the ſecond attack, nineteen paraos, three hundred and ſixty men. In the third, ſix hundred and twenty-two paraos, beſides ſixty which fled, and fifteen thouſand men

men killed, amongſt whom was the Zamorin himſelf. Pacheco purſued them, laid waſte their country with fire and ſword, and burnt four of their cities down to the ground.

The king of Calicut (ſucceſſor of him who had been killed) returns to attempt another ford. At that time three hundred Moors deſerted Pacheco, beſides he was in want of powder, nor did the king of Cochin relieve him, the meſſenger of Pacheco having treacherouſly forebore delivering his meſſage. But Pacheco overcoming all difficulties, killed above ſix hundred of the enemy, obliging them to take ſhelter in a grove of palm trees, where nine men were killed by a cannon ball ſo near the king that he was ſprinkled with their blood. Not long after he loſt ſix thouſand more by the plague.

Notwithſtanding the king of Calicut made vaſt preparations, fatiguing Pacheco in the mean time with divers ſtratagems and treacheries. The making of a powder was projected to blind the enemy, and ſo facilitate their overthrow: beſides they had got a new invention of floating caſtles to deſtroy their ſhips; and the Moors of Cochin were clandeſtinely bribed to poiſon the water of the iſland. The project of the powder was the ſubject of Pacheco's laughter, but he was at great pains to ſecure the wells and ſprings. And now the caſtles began to appear. Theſe were eight in number, fifteen feet high, each raiſed upon two boats, and carrying multitudes of men. Pacheco had one hundred and ſixty men divided between four different parts; the ford, the fort,

the caravels, and the ſhip; and herein conſiſted the chief ſtrength of the kingdom of Cochin: for of thirty thouſand men which compoſed the king's army at firſt, there remained no more than eight thouſand, many of the principal men having deſerted. The king of Cochin had brought eighty thouſand into the field, whereof he had loſt twenty thouſand. Whilſt the towers of the enemy were preparing, Pacheco was attacked by a number of paraos. No ſooner had he repulſed thoſe, than ſix bold nayres undertook to kill him, and in order thereto came over as deſerters. But being informed of their deſign, he cauſed them to be ſeized, and thus eſcaped this danger. The Zamorin now gave out that the Portugueze at Cochin were all killed in the late rencounters, with this intent, that thoſe of that nation who reſided at Cananor and Coulam might be deſtroyed. This ſtratagem had very near taken its intended effect, and they run great hazard, many being wounded, and ſome of them killed. The king of Cochin though he ſaw the great danger that threatened him, was reſolved to endure the utmoſt miſeries rather than abandon the Portugueze, but feared ſo ſmall a number muſt at laſt be overpowered by the multitude of the enemy; the danger of thoſe brave men grieved him more than his own. He therefore moſt earneſtly entreated Pacheco to quit that enterprize, and to reſerve himſelf and his men for ſome opportunity wherein he might do his prince greater ſervice. Pacheco bid the king take courage, and not diſhearten his ſubjects by any

ſigns

ſigns of fear, but to exhort them to ſtand firm, and that thereby they ſhould overcome all difficulties. And fearing leſt any of the Portugueze, thro' his example, might falter in the reſolution of conquering or dying, he went aboard the ſhips, where he made them a moſt eloquent and reſolute ſpeech, which gave new vigour to all of them; but much more his ſpeedy orders, and the courageous activity ſhewn at that very time; for ſcarce was the ſpeech ended, when the enemy appeared. Their deſign was to burn the Portugueze ſhips, and for that end thoſe floating caſtles were drove towards them, all their front blazing with fire. But Pacheco perceiving their intent, made uſe of long beams, one end whereof being faſtened to the ſhips, and the other projecting, hindered the approach of thoſe burning caſtles.

The enemy drew near with two hundred and ninety veſſels, well provided in men and artillery, with eight caſtles; one carrying forty men; two, thirty-five men each; and every one of the other five, thirty men; before all came the fire-works. The ſhore was covered with thirty thouſand men, with excellent artillery; at the head of them, the lord of Repelim with a vaſt number of pioneers. The fight began, the odds being almoſt three hundred veſſels, to three. At firſt, the artillery had little effect, but continuing to play tore in pieces thoſe towers, the ſmoak whereof being ſomewhat allayed, the ſea appeared covered with broken boats, arms, dead bodies, and others ſtruggling with death; the fight was renewed with great loſs to the enemy,

and

and not one Portugueze killed. The next day the king of Calicut returned and was beaten off with great damage, having loſt eighteen thouſand men in the ſpace of five months that this expedition laſted. Therefore by the advice of his Bramins he deſired peace of the king of Cochin, which was granted; which done, he retired to do penance. Soon after Pacheco quelled the Moors at Coulam who obſtructed the Portugueze factors in their traffic, and by hindering any others from entering the harbour, they bought the merchandize at their own price. He then returned to Cochin, having by the terror of his name only ſtruck a general pannic over all that coaſt. The more effectually to check the enemy, and to hinder their deſcent, he fortified the harbour of Cochin, and after having preſerved the ally of Portugal, and reſtored him to his ancient grandeur and independence, he prepared to return into Europe.

CHAP. VIII.

Emanuel *ſends* Lope Soarez *with a great power into the Eaſt.*

KING Emanuel ſeeing the neceſſity of appearing with a greater power in the Indies, ſent out Lope Soarez with a fleet of thirteen ſhips, the largeſt hitherto built in Portugal, and on board of them twelve hundred men. He met two Portugueze commanders refitting in the Angedive iſlands, in order to cruiſe againſt the Moors. With theſe he appeared before Calicut; and becauſe they did not deliver all the priſoners taken

taken in the late war, he battered the city two whole days, killing three hundred of the inhabitants, and then ſailed for Cochin, at the ſame time that Pacheco was upon his return from Coulam.

The king informed Soarez of the damage done him by the inhabitants of Cranganor, a city at four leagues diſtance, which the king of Calicut had fortified. The Portugueze with great ſecrecy provided ſhips, ſailed up the river, where, after a ſharp engagement, five ſhips, with eighty paraos well manned, were burnt by two Portugueze ſhips which led the van. He then ſailed on to attack the city. Showers of arrows poured by multitudes of Moors and Indians who covered all the ſhore, oppoſed the Portugueze. But their muſquetry made way thro' all, and having reached the town, it was burnt down to the ground. The prince of Calicut who was to have guarded it fled.

Soarez was under ſail in his return to Europe, when he was met by twenty paraos, who freely beſtowed their ſhot, and drew him into a bay, wherein were ſeventeen great ſhips well provided with cannon, and defended by four thouſand men. All thoſe ſhips with their lading, which was exceeding rich, were burnt, ſeven hundred Turks drowned, beſides thoſe who periſhed by fire and ſword. Soarez arrived at Liſbon on the twenty-ſecond of July, with thirteen victorious ſhips, heavy laden with riches, whereof three were of the fleet of the foregoing year. The king ſeated Duarte Pacheco by his ſide, under a canopy, and went in that manner along with him to church, to do honour

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to his great valour: ſome authors ſay that he ſoon after impriſoned him, and ſuffered him to die in great miſery: tho' others contradict this particular, aſſerting, that the king, not content with beſtowing upon him the government of Africa, thought he could never enough recompenſe him; and that, to the end that the memory of his virtue ſhould never periſh, he employed the moſt eloquent prelate in his dominions to write the hiſtory of Pacheco's war, which he ſent to all the princes of Europe, glorying that it gave him a higher ſatisfaction to have ſuch a man in his kingdom, than to be lord of the Indies. If the former be true, it affords a terrible example of the uncertainty of royal favours, and the little regard that is had to true merit.

Before theſe diſcoveries, ſpices were brought to Europe with vaſt trouble, and at an immenſe charge. The clove of Molucco, the nutmeg and mace of Banda, the ſandal of Tinor, the camphire of Borneo, the gold and ſilver of Luconia, with all the other riches, ſpices, gums, perfumes, and curioſities of China, Java, Siam, and other eaſtern kingdoms, were carried to the market of the city of Malacca, ſeated in the country by ſome thought to be the Golden Cherſoneſus of the ancients, whence the inhabitants of all the weſtern regions, as far as the Red-ſea, brought thoſe commodities in barter for goods of the produce of their reſpective countries. For no money was uſed in this traffic, ſilver and gold being leſs eſteemed in that place, than by thoſe who traded thither. It was this trade which enriched the

cities

cities of Calicut, Cambaya, Ormus, and Aden, adding to what they brought from Malacca, the rubies of Pegu, the ſtuffs of Bengala, the pearls of Calicare, the diamonds of Narſinga, the cinnamon and richer rubies of Ceylon, the pepper, ginger, and other ſpices of the coaſt of Malabar, and ſuch other places as nature had enriched with theſe latter commodities. From Ormus they were brought to Europe, thro' the Perſian gulph, by way of Bacora at the mouth of the Euphrates, and thence diſtributed by caravans through Armenia, Trebizond, Tartary, Aleppo and Damaſcus. The Venetians, Genoeſe, and Catalonians, loaded them at the port of Barut on the Mediterranean, in order to diſtribute them over all the North. Such as were carried thro' the Red-ſea, were landed at Toro or Suez, towns at the bottom of that gulph, and thence conveyed by caravans to Grand Caïro, and there embarked on the Nile for Alexandria, from whence they were ſhipped off for the North and Weſt.

The vaſt wealth and power which theſe ſucceſſes brought to Portugal, did not ſatisfy Emanuel. His views growing with his opportunities, he meditated nothing leſs than to ſecure this opulence to his people, excluſive of all others; and this was by driving their competitors the Moors out of thoſe parts; a deſign worthy of its author, and only reprehenſible in this, that it ſeemed to ſurpaſs the powers of his ſmall domain. The king believed that, as there were three principal ports or marts from which that nation traded to the remoteſt parts of the Indies,

and

and all of them at great diſtance from one another, it might be practicable by their being thus divided to oppreſs them, either one after another, or all at once. Theſe ports were Aden in Arabia, Ormuz, ſituated in an iſland of the ſame name on the coaſt of Perſia, and Malacca, ſeated on the ſtraits of Sincapour. With this deſign he made great preparations, ordering a fleet to be equipped, greater and better manned than any he had ſent out heretofore.

CHAP. IX.

Expedition of Francis Almeida.

WHilſt Emanuel was employed in theſe preparations, a new ſcene of affairs aroſe in the Eaſt. Many princes ſuffered by the new eſtabliſhed trade of the Portugueze. The Bramins employed in the court of the Zamorin, obſerving their diſcontents, took occaſion to hint to the emperor, that the chriſtians and mahometans were mortal and irreconcileable enemies, divided ſtill more by intereſt than by religion, and that, by blowing the fire of diſſention between them, and ſupporting the weaker, he might eaſily render himſelf ſuperior to both, thus weakened by mutual hoſtilities. To this purpoſe, the Zamorin, the ſhame of his own loſſes, and the harſhneſs of the Portugueze yoke, equally acting upon him, diſpatched an embaſſy to the ſultan of Egypt, complaining of the tyranny of that nation, and aſking his aſſiſtance againſt a people, whoſe pride and avarice and cruelty were equally deſtructive to both their eſtates. The ſultan think-

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ing to intimidate Emanuel, ſent word to the Pope that if theſe hoſtilities were continued in the Eaſt, he would ſend an army to deſtroy the holy places in Jeruſalem. Theſe threats had no other effect upon the king than to haſten the diſpatch of a ſtrong ſquadron into the Indies. Sixteen ſhips of force, with fifteen hundred foot, compoſed this armament. Beſides theſe were ſent ſix caravels, a ſort of galleon or veſſel without decks. The commander was Franciſco de Almeida, who was to take upon him the government of India, with the title of viceroy, and who had given great proofs of his prudence and courage in the wars of Ferdinand king of Caſtile. This naval army left the ſhores of Portugal on the twenty-fifth of March one thouſand five hundred and five, and Almeida, after a proſperous courſe, arrived at Quiboa, with part of his fleet, the reſt being ſeparated by ſtreſs of weather. Abraham the tyrant of the country refuſed to pay the tribute he had covenanted for. Almeida attacked, defeated, and expelled him, ſeated Mahomet Ancorim in his throne, and erected a fortreſs in order to ſecure the obedience of his wavering ſubjects. He then viſited Mombaza, ſeated alſo on the coaſt of Africa. The ſituation of this place, which was built in an iſland, and was defended by two citadels on which were planted ſome pieces of cannon, made him refuſe to admit the viceroy into his port. He therefore forced the entrance, and battering his caſtles to pieces, he ſtormed the city, and made ſlaves of moſt part of the inhabitants. He likewiſe built

a ſort

a fort at this place, after which he ſet ſail for the Angedive iſlands, where he erected another ſtrength. Here he received the compliments of the king; and the Moors of Chinkatora, alarmed at the preſence of a general whoſe actions had gained him ſo much reputation, ſent him rich preſents. The fort being finiſhed he proceeded to Onor. The inhabitants, after ſecuring their wives, children, and moſt valuable effects in a neighbouring mountain, changed their behaviour, appeared in a body with a deſign to ſupport the inſolence they had been guilty of. The admiral attacked them by ſea and land, and marching thro' ſhowers of arrows burnt the city with all the ſhips in the port. Timoia the governor of the city, a man of great prudence, and of a moſt graceful preſence, perſuaded the governor to deſiſt from the total deſtruction of the place. The king became the tributary vaſſal of Portugal. Hence he departed for Cananor where he had the king's permiſſion to build a fort, in which he left a ſtrong garriſon, and ſo ſet out for Cochin. Affairs here were in a very fluctuating condition. Trimumpara, broken and worn out with old age, had reſigned the crown to the younger of his ſiſter's ſons, rejecting the elder becauſe he had abandoned him in the laſt invaſion of the Zamorin. Theſe proceedings excited very great troubles. The viceroy arriving put an end to all diſputes, eſtabliſhing Noubeador on the throne of his uncle. The king of Cochin from this day forwards acknowledged himſelf the vaſſal of the king of Portugal. The governor made

made him rich preſents, telling him at the ſame time, that he had orders from the king, now their common ſovereign, to build a citadel in Cochin ſtill ſtronger than the former.

King Emanuel in order to ſecure the trade of the gold of Zofala, cauſed forts to be built at Quiloa, at Mozambik, and a factory at Melinda. Afterwards Don Franciſco ſent out Pedro de Annaya to build a fort at Zofala. The king of this place believing that the unhealthfulneſs of the country would oblige the Portugueze to abandon it, granted him permiſſion to erect a fortreſs whereby that trade was ſecured contrary to the king's intentions. As this country conſtitutes part of the Portugueze conqueſts, and is included in the charter of the Eaſt-India company, the deſcription of it extracted from an author of reputation is here ſubjoined. The kingdom of Zofala is a large tract of land, ſeven hundred and fifty leagues in circumference, ſubject to the Monomopata, that is to ſay, emperor of that part of ſouthern Afric which goes under this name, and is alſo known by that of Ethiopia Inferior; it is watered by two famous rivers, Rio del Eſperitu Santo, and Cuama, the latter navigable two hundred and fifty leagues from the ocean. Theſe and many other rivers which fall into them are reputed to have golden ſands. This land for the moſt part is pleaſant, healthful and fertile, enjoying a temperate air. Some part of it feeds vaſt flocks of ſheep, the ſkins whereof ſerve to defend the natives from the cold winds which blow

from the South. The country along the banks of the Cuama is mountainous, covered with woods, and watered with many rivers which render it delightful and populous. This is the common reſidence of the Monomopata. Here are great numbers of elephants, which produce ivory in vaſt qaantities, and likewiſe mines of gold. Theſe are called the mines of Manaca, which lies fifty leagues diſtant, both neglected at that time by their poſſeſſors.

Here are buildings of a wonderful ſtructure, with inſcriptions of dark and unknown characters. The natives know nothing of their foundation. They worſhip one ſole God under the name of Moziono. Idols are not known here. Witchcraft, theft and adultery, are crimes puniſhed with exemplary ſeverity. They are permitted to have as many wives as they can maintain; the king has above a thouſand to himſelf, but the firſt commands the others, and her children inherit. They perform their funerals with abundance of ſuperſtition; their cloathing is cotton, that of the better ſort is mixed with threads of gold. The houſes are of wood. The king's retinue is rather ceremonious than great, his guard conſiſts of two hundred dogs, and he is always followed by a troop of five hundred jeſters or buffoons. He is ſovereign over many princes, whoſe heirs he conſtantly keeps about him to prevent them from rebelling, to which they are very prone. There are no law-ſuits known amongſt them. Their ſoldiers are all infantry, their arms arrows,

darts

darts or javelins, daggers and ſmall ſharp hatchets. The women in this country are ſo much reſpected, that if the ſon of the king happens to meet one of them, he not only gives her the way but ſtops till ſhe has paſſed. The Moors of Magadoxa were the firſt who poſſeſſed theſe mines of Zofala; after theſe they fell into the hands of thoſe of Quiloa, whoſe kings were poſſeſſed of them till Yzuf one of their governors uſurped the ſovereignty with the title of king, and was the ſame who now permitted them to build this fort, which tho' of wood, was notwithſtanding abundantly ſtrong.

In the mean time the Zamorin of Calicut urged on the ſultan of Cairo, hoping with his aſſiſtance to drive the Portugueze out of the Indian ſeas. The privacy of this negociation could not conceal it from the king of Cochin. He ſent notice of it to the viceroy, who ſent his ſon with a fleet to prevent or cruſh that deſign. In the way he engaged and almoſt deſtroyed a great fleet of the enemy, and relieved the fort of Angediva, which was beſet by ſixty ſail of the Moors and gentiles. The Moors now perceiving that their trade could no longer be carried on in the manner they were wont, becauſe of the ſuperior force of the Portugueze, in order to ſhun thoſe enemies, bethought themſelves of a new route to Sumatra and Malacca, whither they reſorted on account of the ſpiceries they purchaſed at thoſe places, by keeping out to ſea, and ſteering thro' the channels which ſeparate the Mal-

dive iſlands. The viceroy ſent his ſon with nine ſhips to infeſt that navigation. In this expedition, carried on thorough unknown ſeas, was diſcovered the iſland of Ceylon, the famous Taprobana of the ancients. They caſt anchor in the port of Gale, where they found a multitude of Moors buſied in loading cinnamon, and taking in elephants for Cambaya. Theſe dreading his reſentment, preſented Don Lorenzo with four hundred bahars of cinnamon in the name of the king. After planting a croſs with an inſcription to perpetuate the memory of his diſcovery and arrival, he ſet ſail for Cochin, deſtroying by the way the town of Biramjam, which he burnt down to the ground, putting every ſoul within it to the ſword in revenge for the Portugueze killed at Coulan, to which kingdom this town belonged. The next care of the governor was to relieve the forts of Zofala and Quiloa, where moſt of the garriſons were dead, and thoſe that remained alive incapable of duty. Notwithſtanding the fortreſs of Quiloa was afterwards razed by the ſame hands that built it, after having coſt many lives, and all this the effect of the ill uſage of the Portugueze towards the natives, proceeding from their unſufferable pride, and from their avarice, which knew no bounds.

CHAP

CHAP. X.

Triſtan de Cunna, *and* Alphonſo de Albuquerque, *afterwards ſurnamed the Great, ſet ſail for the* Indies.

EMANUEL had already reſolved to ſend Triſtan de Cunna and Alphonſo de Albuquerque into the Eaſt, the firſt to conduct the trading fleet, and the latter to cruize on the coaſt of Arabia, when James Fernandez Piteyra, the diſcoverer of the iſland Socotora in the mouth of the Red-ſea, arrived. The king being informed that the inhabitants of this iſland, who were chriſtians, were oppreſſed by the Moors, ordered the two commanders to direct their courſe thither, and to endeavour to poſſeſs themſelves of the fort, to the intent that the Portugueze fleets might afterwards winter there, and thus the navigation of that gulph might be ſecured. A wooden fort ready to ſet up was carried along with them, in caſe that which was there already ſhould be found to be unſerviceable. Theſe two admirals ſet ſail from Liſbon on the ſixteenth of March, with thirteen ſhips, and aboard of theſe thirteen hundred fighting men. In this voyage the iſland Madagaſcar was diſcovered. Being arrived at Melinda, the king obliged him to invade Oja, a city which together with the king of Mombaſa made war upon him. This country was poſſeſſed by the Arabs, where buildings of ancient and ſurpriſing ſtructure are to be ſeen. Each city, and almoſt every village has a king or xeque of its own, the prin-

cipal of which are, thoſe of Quiloa, Zanzibar, and Mombaſa; but the prince of Melinda pretends to be the moſt ancient, deducing his pedigree from thoſe of Quitau, a city eighteen leagues diſtant, which amidſt its ruins ſhews the footſteps of its ancient grandeur, having been ſuperior to all its neighbours, which are Luziva, Parimunda, Lamon, Jaca, Oja, and others. The country is watered by the river Gulimanja. Triſtan de Cunna with ſix ſhips appeared before the city Oja, ſituated ſeventeen leagues from Melinda, on an open ſhore, ſecured by a wall which hides it from the Cafres towards the land. The xeque being informed that de Cunna had important affairs to communicate with him, made anſwer, that a ſubject of the ſoldan of Cairo, the head caliph of the houſe of Mahomet, as he was, could not treat with his open enemies. Triſtan diſtruſting delays, as ſoon as the day began to dawn, dividing his men into two bodies aboard the boats, proceeded towards the ſhore, where the Moors, aſſiſted by the ſea, ſtood in arms ready to oppoſe their landing. They were put to flight at the firſt onſet, and obliged to take ſhelter under their walls; but not believing themſelves ſafe there, as faſt as they entered at one gate they fled out at the other. The king was purſued and killed amidſt a multitude of his people in a wood of palm trees, whither he had fled. I cannot forbear giving the reader the pleaſure of the following act of generoſity, the more wonderful on account of the perſons it proceeded from, however foreign from the ſubject I have undertaken to treat of; that is, to the eſtabliſhment of the trade to the Indies.

George

George Sylveyra attacked a Moor of a grave and manly appearance, while he conducted a young woman of exquiſite beauty thro' a path which led acroſs a wood; the Moor ſtop'd to fight the Portugueze, bidding the woman ſeize that time to make her eſcape. The maid pierced with the thoughts of leaving for ever the man ſhe loved, refuſed to fly, and obſtinate in ſpite of all his intreaties or endeavours, perſiſted to follow him, ſaying, that to die, or be taken with him, ſhe was very willing, but that while ſhe lived ſhe would never eſcape alone. The Portugueze, ſtruck with amazement to behold theſe lovers ſtriving who ſhould give the greateſt proofs of love and tenderneſs, let them both go away, adding as he returned, theſe words, Heaven forbid, that my ſword ſhould cut the bonds of ſo much love, and ſo unfeigned a paſſion. The town was taken, plundered and burnt with ſuch precipitation, that ſeveral of the conquerors periſhed in the flames. Lamo, a city fifteen leagues diſtant, taught by ſo terrible an example, ſubmitted to the Portugueze. The cheque, which made it more acceptable, came in perſon to make this ſubmiſſion, offering a yearly tribute of ſix hundred meticales of gold; the tribute of the firſt year was paid down in hand. The fleet proceeded to Brava, a populous city, which had been conquered before, but had now riſen in rebellion, vainly confiding in an army of ſix thouſand men, which it expoſed on the ſhore. But Cunna and Albuquerque landing next day in two bodies, in ſpite of ſhowers of arrows, darts and ſtones, ſcaled

the walls, and routed the Moors, waſhing the ſtreets with their blood, and killing a prodigious number. Thoſe of the Portugueze who were killed, periſhed more thro' covetouſneſs than by the ſword; for overloading a boat with the ſpoil, they went to the bottom along with it. And here the avarice of the Portugueze ſullied the glory of their arms, and prompted them to acts of barbarity ſhocking to human nature. They cut off the hands and ears of women, to ſave time in taking off their bracelets and ear-rings in another manner.

The city burned and plundered, they ſet ſail, paſt Cape Guardâfu, and ſtood for Zocotora. Zocotora is an iſland twenty leagues in length, nine in breadth, lying almoſt eaſt and weſt, in the latitude of twelve degrees and forty minutes. This is the largeſt iſland near the mouth of the Red-ſea, but has no ports fit for any great number of ſhips to winter in. Athwart the middle of it runs a ridge of hills which pierce into the clouds, yet this amazing height does not preſerve them from the ſand of the ſhore, which the north winds drive as high as their very ſummits. It is therefore entirely barren of trees and plants, excepting ſome ſmall vallies which lie under ſhelter from thoſe winds. The Arabian continent lies at fifty leagues diſtance from it, as does Cape Guardâfu at thirty. The ports moſt frequented by the Portugueze are Zoco, inhabited by the Moors, Calancea to the weſtward, and Beni to the eaſt. The natives are an uncivilized race. Thoſe vallies that are ſheltered from the ſand produce apples and palm trees, and the moſt excellent

cellent aloes; the beſt of which is known by the name of Socotrine. Their common food is maiz, or Indian wheat, tamarinds, and milk. The inhabitants are all Jacobite chriſtians like the Ethiopians. The men are handſome, and the women like the Amazons, go to the wars, and for the ſake of propagation make uſe of ſuch ſtrangers as arrive there. Their cloathing is cloth and ſkins; their habitation caves, and their weapons, ſtones and ſlings. They were at this time ſubject to the Arabian king of Caxem. Cunna found here a fort of indifferent ſtrength, tolerably well manned and provided. The anſwer of the xeque to his meſſage, provoked him ſo, that he reſolved, notwithſtanding the danger of the attempt, to aſſault the place. Alphonſo de Noronha, ambitious of the approbation of the king, who had appointed him to command that fort if taken, advanced with a few but reſolute men. The xeque received him with no great number, but with much gallantry, maintaining his ground, and with loud menaces threatening deſtruction to Cunna, who thro' a mingled ſhower of ſtones and bullets, approached the fort, and was briſkly repulſed by the xeque, when Don Alphonſo ſtruck him down to the ground with his lance. The engagement was obſtinate, the Moors endeavouring to carry off their king, and the Portugueze to hinder it, till he with eight of his people were killed. And now they fly to the caſtle, which the enemy ſcaled the ſame inſtant; thoſe who entered opening the gates to the reſt. A bloody fight began in diſputing the poſſeſſion of the inward fort, the Moors fighting to the laſt man,

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ſo that of eighty, there was but one left alive, beſides a blind man found in the bottom of a well, who being aſked how he came there, made anſwer, that the blind ſaw but one thing, the way to liberty, and which even the blind covet to poſſeſs. This plain and honeſt anſwer procured him his liberty. The Portugueze loſt ſix men. The natives who had kept out of the way, came with their wives and children to thank the Portugueze commander for delivering them from the inſupportable yoke of thoſe infidels, and what was highly pleaſing to them, they were received under the protection of the Portugueze monarch. The moſque was changed into a church, and many of the people were baptized. Cunna gave the command of the fort to Alphonſo de Noronha, whoſe valour had deſerved that diſtinction. One hundred men were appointed him for a garriſon. Thus after wintering in thoſe ports he ſet ſail for India, while Albuquerque bent his courſe for the Arabian coaſt.

While theſe things happened at Zocotora, the king of Calicut relying on the promiſes of ſoothſayers and wizards, was arming afreſh againſt the Portugueze. Thoſe falſe prophets finding the arrival of de Cunna was protracted, aſſured him of ſucceſs in that lucky opportunity, becauſe of a great change of affairs which was to follow a certain earthquake, and an eclipſe of the ſun, the laſt ſo remarkable, that the ſtars appeared for a conſiderable time. Theſe were interpreted as omens of the deſtruction of the Portugueze. Notwithſtanding Don Franciſco the viceroy ſent a ſquadron of ten ſhips under his ſon Don Lorenzo,

renzo, to protect the trade of the coaſt of Malabar. This power which was unexpected ſurprized the king.

Gonzalo Vaz, who had remained at Cananor to take in water, as he followed the fleet, happening to meet a ſhip of Cananor which carried a Portugueze paſs, ſunk it together with all the Moors in it, and thoſe, to the end that they might never after be ſeen, he ſewed up in a ſail. He was broke for this deteſtable action, a puniſhment too ſmall to expiate ſo great cruelty, and the violation of the public faith. It was enormities like theſe which produced the calamities which afterwards befel the Portugueze in the Eaſt.

Don Lorenzo after making prize of ſeven ſhips, moſt of the men on board of which were deſtroyed while they endeavoured by ſwimming to gain the ſhore, having leaped into the ſea thro' terror of the Portugueze, ſet ſail for Dabul, where anchoring in the mouth of the river, he diſcovered the fleet of Calicut, the occaſion of his voyage. Don Lorenzo was eager to engage, notwithſtanding the narrowneſs of the place, but the oppoſition of the council obliged him to deſiſt. Sailing on four leagues farther, part of his fleet purſuing a ſail which caſt anchor over againſt a town amidſt a great many other veſſels; he detached a galley after them, which begun to clear the ſhore of the Moors who flocked down to it in great multitudes. The noiſe of the cannon reaching the ears of Don Lorenzo, he made haſte to join them. At his coming up they had already

already gained the veſſels in the harbour, and ſet fire to a houſe on the ſhore full of rich merchandize. All the ſhips in the harbour were burnt, only two, which were of Ormuz, were carried away laden with riches. Thus returning to Cochin with victory and ſpoil, he expected to be joyfully welcomed by his father. The father on the contrary had reſolved to puniſh him with the utmoſt ſeverity for not fighting the fleet of Calicut, and was only prevented from it, becauſe it appeared that the young commander had been, contrary to his own opinion, overſwayed by the votes of all the captains. The viceroy immediately broke every one of them, and ſent them into Portugal. This ſeverity afflicted his ſon extremely, and was the cauſe of his loſing his life with equal raſhneſs and valour, while he endeavoured to reſtore himſelf to his father's eſteem.

The king of Cananor was prompted by the king of Calicut to break with the Portugueze; he had already deſired this rupture, which he grounded upon this bottom, that the body of the nephew of Mamale, a rich merchant of Malabar, was found upon the ſhore, and had been one of thoſe who had been inhumanly ſewed up in the ſail, and ſo thrown into the ſea. This action was not yet known in Cananor, and the blame was laid upon de Brito, whoſe paſs that ſhip carried. This perſon who was captain of the fort, diſcovered their deſign, and finding himſelf weak, ſent notice of his condition to the viceroy. He immediately left the church, for it was here

that

that the meſſage had been delivered him, and ſet about the relief of Brito. The command was given to Don Lorenzo who had orders as ſoon as he came to Cananor to obey Lorenzo de Brito the governor of the place. Brito inſiſted that the other, as ſon of the viceroy, and ſo famous an officer, ſhould take upon himſelf the command. Thus theſe two excellent men generouſly diſputed which ſhould obey the other, an uncommon example of moderation; and Lorenzo ſeeing the other reſolved to perſiſt in that piece of complaiſance, left the place, and returned alone to Cochin. The beſieged fortified and entrenched themſelves; the ſame was done by the beſiegers, who were twenty thouſand ſtrong. Abundance of blood was ſpilt in diſputing a well, the water of which the Portugueze found ways to make themſelves maſters of by mining. After this loſs the Moors retired to a wood of palm trees, in order to prepare engines for battering the fort. The governor prepared to receive them, and partly with his cannon, partly by the ſword, he ſucceeded ſo well, that the ditch which they intended to have filled with faggots was heaped with dead corſes. They then retired to the woods, whither Guadalajara a Spaniard ſallying out upon them in a cold rainy night, preſſed them with ſuch vigour, that the enemy were confounded with the ſurprize, and knew not where to ſave themſelves. Three hundred were killed in this action. The garriſon was now reduced to great extremities, thro' ſickneſs and famine, occaſioned by their magazine

of

of proviſions taking fire. All manner of vermin was eaten; and the ſea after a ſtorm having left abundance of ſhell-fiſh on the ſhore, was what alone ſaved them from utter deſtruction. Meantime powerful ſuccours were ſent by the Zamorin to the prince of Cananor, who with above fifty thouſand men gave the laſt aſſault by ſea and land at the ſame time. They were received with great vigour, and repulſed with infinite loſs, tho' not one of the Portugueze were killed in this action. Triſtan de Cunna now arrived; and the king of Cananor, terrified with his coming and the defence made by Brito, ſued for peace, which was concluded with great honour to the Portugueze valour.

The next attempt of the viceroy was againſt Panane, a place belonging to the Zamorin. He landed his men in boats, and paſſing thro' ſhowers of bullets ſhot by the Moors who defended the town with great reſolution, entered it by ſtorm. All the inhabitants were put to the ſword, the city abandoned to plunder, and afterwards burnt; all the ſhips in the docks and in the harbour were ſet on fire, the ſpoil which was immenſe periſhing alſo in the flames. This done, they returned to Cananor.

Albuquerque now meditated the reducing of Ormuz, wherefore he put to ſea with ſeven ſhips, aboard of which were four hundred and ſixty fighting men. On his way thither he viſited Calayate, where he concluded a peace with the governor. Curiate, a town ſituated ten leagues farther, was ſtormed, plundered and burnt.

Eight

Eight leagues beyond that, ſtood Maſcate, a populous place and ſtronger than the former, which after a gallant reſiſtance, ſhared the ſame fate with the preceding. Soar yielded without oppoſition, agreeing to pay Emanuel the ſame tribute he had formerly paid the king of Ormuz. Orfacam was deſerted, and while the place was abandoned to plunder, he prepared to enter the harbour of Ormuz, the reduction of which place was the end of this expedition.

Ormuz ſtands in a ſmall iſland, called Gerum, in the entry of the Perſian gulph, three leagues in circumference, and barren of every thing excepting only ſalt and ſulphur. The buildings of this city are magnificent; it is the great emporium of all goods brought thither from the Eaſt, Weſt, and North; on which account, tho' it produces nothing itſelf, it notwithſtanding abounds in all things, being ſupplied from the province of Mogaſtham, and the iſlands Quixome, Lareque, and others. About the year twelve hundred and ſeventy-three, Malec Caez, then king, poſſeſſed all the country from the iſland Gerum, as far as Baharem, his dominions bordering upon thoſe of the king of Gondunxa, whoſe eſtates lay in the province of Mogaſtham. This king obtained of Malec the iſland of Gerum as a place of no importance. After he had fortified himſelf in it, he drove his benefactor out of all his country; and tranſlating the city of Ormuz, the ancient capital, to this iſland, grew ſo formidable, as to awaken the jealouſy of the king of Perſia who prepared to invade him. He prevented this evil, by

by impoſing on himſelf a yearly tribute. Thus this uſurper laid the foundations of the city and kingdom of Ormuz, afterwards poſſeſſed by his deſcendants and others, whoſe claim was for the moſt part grounded upon violent poſſeſſion. When the Portugueze admiral arrived, Ceyſadim a youth of twelve years of age then reigned, but was himſelf governed by his ſlave, a man of great craft and courage. This miniſter, whoſe name was Coyé Atar, having heard of the deſigns of Albuquerque, made preparations for withſtanding him, detaining all the ſhips in the harbour, and hiring troops in all the neighbouring provinces; ſo that when Albuquerque came before it, there were in the place thirty thouſand fighting men, as well Portugueze as Arabians and others; among them four thouſand Perſian archers, famed for their dexterity in the uſe of that weapon; and four hundred veſſels in the harbour, ſixty whereof were of conſiderable bulk, with two thouſand five hundred men.

Albuquerque entered the port, with that reſolution and magnanimity which was natural to him, and came to an anchor between five of their greateſt ſhips. No meſſage coming from the king, he ſent aboard the largeſt of the ſhips which ſeemed to ride admiral, the captain whereof immediately came to wait on him. He told this officer that his orders were to take the king of Ormuz into his protection, and to grant him leave to trade in thoſe ſeas, provided he conſented to the payment of a moderate tribute: if he refuſed, his orders were to make war upon him.

him. The Moor delivered the meſſage to the king and his miniſter, and a perſon was ſent to beg his excuſe for not being ſooner waited of, the governor promiſing to attend him next day in order to treat of the ſubject of his commiſſion. Frequent meſſages were ſent, in order to gain time to fortify the place, and to receive the ſupplies they expected. Albuquerque, who ſaw their deſigns, told the meſſenger, that he ſhould not return excepting with the acceptation of his terms, or the declaration of war. The anſwer he brought was, that their city had always been accuſtomed to receive tribute, not to pay it; at the ſame time the noiſe of warlike inſtruments, and the ſhouts that were heard from the walls in the night, ſhewed that they prepared to engage. The ſun riſing diſcovered the ſhore, the walls and the ſhips covered with men in arms, whilſt the windows and the tops of the houſes were filled with people of all ages, and of every ſex and condition, who ſat as ſpectators of what ſhould enſue. Albuquerque having firſt held a council, and after giving the neceſſary orders, began to play his cannon with great fury, and was anſwered in the ſame manner by the enemy. When theſe laſt, taking advantage of the ſmoke which now involved every thing in darkneſs, attempted to board the Portugueze, but after doing ſome ſmall damage with the ſhowers of arrows they diſcharged, they were forced to retire by the ſhot of the artillery, which ſunk many of their boats. In a ſecond onſet, the cannon did ſuch prodigious execution, that the ſeas were dyed with

human blood. And now Albuquerque had ſunk two of the great ſhips, and taken a third after a gallant defence, forcing the Moors to leap into the ſea. The other captains had overcome the reſt of the enemy, and finding that victory now declared in their favour, they ran along the ſhore, ſetting fire to above thirty veſſels, which after cutting their cables, were drove blazing upon the coaſt of Perſia, where they kindled and ſo deſtroyed the ſhips that lay aground. The terror of this action ſtruck ſo great diſmay into the multitude, that they fled to take ſhelter in the city, when the governor ſent to offer all that the Portugueze general had demanded. Moſt of the enemy's veſſels, with immenſe riches, were either ſunk, burnt, or beat to pieces, ſeventeen hundred men were killed, the Portugueze fiſhing for the dead bodies which floated upon the water, on account of the rich ornaments they wore, many of which were of beaten gold. Coje Atar, the governor, in order to prevent further loſs, ſeemed to conſent to articles, to which he alſo ſwore; theſe were, that the king of Ormuz ſubmitted to become the vaſſal of Emanuel, agreeing to pay a tribute of fifteen hundred xeraphins yearly (a xeraphin is worth about half a crown of our money) and promiſing to aſſign a place on which the Portugueze ſhould have liberty to build a fort. This fortreſs was immediately begun, and in a few days conſiderably advanced, when Atar in order to ſtop the works, pretended that ambaſſadors were come from Perſia to receive the tribute uſually paid to that monarch, and deſiring

Albuquerque

Albuquerque to give them an anſwer, ſince the king of Ormuz who was now the vaſſal of Emanuel, was not at liberty to treat with them. Albuquerque gueſſing the truth of the matter, ſent back his meſſengers with a quantity of ſpears and bullets, telling him that this was the coin in which his maſter ſhould pay the tribute of Perſia. Atar had now recourſe to other ſtratagems, corrupting ſeveral of the Portugueze ſeamen who went over to him, by whoſe aſſiſtance ſeveral pieces of cannon were caſt, and ſome of his own captains oppoſing Albuquerque's meaſures, all his attempts to ſeize this city at this time failed; ſo that after doing all the damage in his power, and after rivers of blood ſpilt on the ſide of the enemy, he ſailed away for Zocotora.

Whilſt this happened at Ormuz, Franciſco de Almeida commanded on the coaſt of Malabar. He ſent his ſon Lorenzo to guard thoſe of Cananor and Cochin, while he himſelf ran as far as Chaul, with eight ſail. Chaul is ſeated on the bank of a river, two leagues from the ſea, and is one of the moſt noted cities on that coaſt, both for the number of its inhabitants, and for its vaſt traffic. It is ſubject to the Nizamaluco, who received Lorenzo with great civility. Here they had information that the ſultan of Cairo had ſent out a fleet to oppoſe the Portugueze in the Indies: that by the way they had attacked Imbo, and killed the Xeque or king; that they had done the ſame at Ioda, where they got vaſt booty; and had thence proceeded to Diu, where they

had orders to join Melique Az, who commanded in that place for the king of Cambaya, and both were then to fall upon the Portugueze. Whilſt they doubted of the truth of this information, the fleet itſelf appeared. The admiral was then diverting himſelf aſhore with his officers, and ſeeing a ſquadron of large ſhips coming down upon them, they made haſte on board, giving ſuch orders as were conſiſtent with ſo great a ſurprize. They were ſcarce got to their ſhips when the enemy entered the harbour, teſtifying by the greateſt marks of joy, the certainty of the victory. They advanced to board the Portugueze, Mir-Hozem the admiral bearing down upon Lorenzo, and pouring in bullets, arrows, granados, and other inflammable matter. The Portugueze bravely defending himſelf, made him give over his firſt deſign, as did all the others, and the night approaching, the two fleets ſeparated, in order to prepare for the work of the following day.

At day-break the Portugueze admiral gave the ſignal of battle, endeavouring in his turn to board Mir-Hozem. His example was followed by all the other ſhips, two of which only ſucceeded: all the men found in the captures were put to the ſword. The cannon ſtill played furiouſly on both ſides, and Lorenzo ſeemed to have the advantage, when Melique Az, lord of Diu, came to the aſſiſtance of Mir-Hozem with a great fleet of ſmall veſſels. Two gallies and three caravels were ſent out to prevent their approach. Theſe ſo effectually performed their orders,

orders, that Melique Az was obliged to fly. The fight continued till night parted them, after which a council was held, in which moſt of the Portugueze captains were of opinion, either to abandon that enterprize, or at leaſt to ſail out into the open ſea, in order to ſecure their retreat, or to fight with greater advantage. But Lorenzo calling to mind the reſentment of his father the viceroy on a like occaſion, and fearing his retreat might rather be aſcribed to fear than to prudence, reſolutely waited the morning, only making the diſpoſitions neceſſary to preſerve the ſhips of Cochin, which were in great danger. Melique imagining that this motion was in order to fly, broke from his retreat, charging the Portugueze with great fury, and undaunted at the loſs of his veſſels which were torn to pieces by the enemy's artillery: unhappily, Lorenzo's ſhip running foul of ſome ſtakes, drove into the bed of the river, was in great danger of ſinking. Lorenzo was labouring to ſave his ſhip, when a cannon ball broke his thigh: more concerned for the victory than his own life, he ordered the ſhip's company to ſet him up againſt the maſt, where he ſtood encouraging his men, when a ſecond ball broke his back. The body was thrown under deck, and the Moors entering after a vigorous reſiſtance, found his ſervant expiring cloſe by the body of his maſter, amidſt a number of the enemy whom he had killed in defending it. The ſhip ſunk immediately after. Of more than one hundred which were along with Lorenzo, only

nineteen eſcaped, the total loſs of the Portugueze amounting to one hundred and forty, and that of the enemy to ſix hundred. The remains of the fleet made ſail for Cochin, where they brought the viceroy the news of his ſon's death. He is ſaid to have heard the account with wonderful reſolution, and to have uttered theſe words; My ſon could not have ended his days with greater glory, than to fall fighting for the honour and proſperity of his country.

Whilſt the viceroy was uſing all his endeavours to learn the particulars of this action, a letter was brought him from Melique Az, with the information he wanted. This man, who was born a ſlave, tho' of chriſtian origin, roſe by degrees to that high rank in which he then ſtood. The occaſion of his riſe was this. A kite flying over the king of Cambaya, let fall his ordure upon the king's head, whereat the prince in a paſſion ſaid, I would give a great deal to have that bird killed. Melique, who was a moſt excellent bow-man, no ſooner heard this expreſſion of the king than he let fly an arrow, which brought the offender to the ground. The bounty of the king for this action, brought Melique Az to be lord of Diu, a moſt famous city, the ſituation of which, on a triangular peninſula, which is joined to the continent by a very narrow iſthmus, is the cauſe why it is commonly reputed an iſland. Melique ſtrove to ſecure himſelf at once with the king of Cambaya his benefactor, and alſo with the Portugueze, whoſe power he feared, and whom he hated on account of the hurt they had done the

trade

trade of Diu. This craft was the reaſon of his various conduct, in aſſiſting Mir-Hozem, and delivering the nineteen Portugueze priſoners to the king of Cambaya, at the ſame time that he writ to the viceroy, pretending to condole the death of his ſon, extolling his courage, and offering to ranſom the priſoners.

This year, 1508, ſixteen ſhips, after joining thoſe of the foregoing year, arrived in India, and gave freſh courage to the Portugueze. Theſe brought an order from Emanuel for Almeida to reſign the government to Alphonſo de Albuquerque. The former, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Alphonſo, ſuſpended the execution of this order, alledging that he was already engaged in taking revenge of Mir-Hozem for the death of his ſon, and that he had never yet reſigned the ſword to another to revenge his wrongs. After much altercation, in which theſe two illuſtrious men betrayed a great deal of human frailty, Albuquerque left the viceroy, and proceeded to Cochin.

Before this, happened the actions at Ormuz, and at Zocotora, at which laſt he wintered, having firſt by the captures he made, relieved the Portugueze who were diſtreſſed by famine. He then ſet out, tho' with a ſmall power, to attempt Ormuz. By the way he reſolved to chaſtiſe Calayate for the injuries they had done the Portugueze, This city is ſeated beyond Cape Siagro, called alſo Cape Roſalgat, at the mouth of the Perſian gulph. Behind it ſtands a mountain, croſs which there are very few paſſes, which open a communication

munication with the neighbouring country. One of theſe paſſes lies directly oppoſite to the town, and thro' this moſt of the trade of the province of Yemen, or as the Arabs term it, Ayaman, is carried on. This province is ſo called, as ſome ſay, becauſe it was inhabited by Namê one of the ſons of Lot; or, according to others, from the plenty and abundance of this country, which is full of populous cities, the ſoil fruitful, and poſſeſſes a prodigious traffic. Albuquerque entered the place with great ſlaughter of the inhabitants, and after conſiderable loſs, from a ſurprize of a thouſand Moors, he ſet fire to the place, the chief booty found in it being proviſions. From hence he ſailed to Ormuz, where he arrived the thirteenth of September. The admiral firſt ſent notice to the king and his miniſter of his arrival; the anſwer was, that they were ready to pay the tribute they had ſtipulated, but that they never would conſent to the rearing of a fortreſs, which was to deprive them of their liberty. Wherefore the admiral reſolved to beſiege the iſland a ſecond time, ordering Martin Coello with his ſhip, to guard the point Tombaca, whereon were the ſprings which ſupplied it with water. James de Melo was poſted oppoſite to the iſland Queixome, whilſt the admiral with Franciſco de Tavora lay before the city. From hence he could view the growth of the fort which Atar the king's favourite was erecting upon the foundation which he himſelf had laid, employing the artifices of the Portugueze againſt themſelves. The ſucceſs of this attempt was as bad as that of the former;

former; ſo that the admiral narrowly eſcaping being killed, returned for India, having taken by the way two ſhips, one of which carried a great quantity of pearl.

The viceroy having ſent Albuquerque to Cochin, and diſpatched the trading veſſels homewards, ſet ſail from Cananor on the twelfth day of December towards Diu, in purſuit of Mir-Hozem. His navy conſiſted of nineteen ſhips of ſeveral ſorts, and carried ſixteen hundred men as well ſoldiers as mariners, and of theſe four hundred were natives of Malabar. This motion of the viceroy gave the alarm to all the powers of India, but eſpecially to the Zamorin, and to Melique Az prince of Diu, who had left nothing undone to ſecure himſelf againſt this danger. The viceroy landed his men in the delightful iſland of Angediva, ſet forth in a grave and perſuaſive ſpeech the great actions they had already performed, as alſo to excite their revenge, what loſſes they had ſuſtained by the Turks; he ſhewed them, that their duty to God, the cauſe of chriſtianity, the obligations they lay under to their king, and to their country, called upon them to revenge their loſſes, as well as that of their general, whoſe ſon, a youth of ſo great hopes, had fallen by their hands. So ſaying, he gave orders to make ready to fall upon Dabul, a reſolution unanimouſly approved of by all preſent.

Dabul is one of the moſt noted cities of all that coaſt, on account of its ſituation, its greatneſs, and its trade; it ſtood on a navigable river two leagues

leagues from the ſea, the buildings were magnificent, and the inhabitants pagans or Moors; it lies on the borders of the kingdom of Decan, ſubject to Sabayo the king, for whom the governor with a ſtrong garriſon then held it. Upon the approach of the Portugueze, it was reinforced with ſix thouſand men, new works were raiſed, on which was planted a numerous artillery. On the 30th of December the Portugueze fleet entered the harbour: having gained the ſhore, they attacked the city at three different gates, while the Moors, encouraged by the example of their governor, made ſo brave a reſiſtance, that the dead bodies proved a greater bulwark againſt their enemies, than the living defendants, or works of the place. At laſt, the Moors gave way, notwithſtanding all their governor could do to hinder their flight. In this action, which laſted about five hours, fifteen hundred of the enemy were killed, all of them hand to hand, the cannon being played on neither ſide. The Portugueze loſt ſixteen only. On the morning the viceroy gave his ſoldiers leave to plunder, which was ſtopt by the ſudden firing of the town, which in a few hours was only a heap of aſhes. The viceroy was the cauſe of this conflagration, leſt the ſoldiers being taken up with their riches ſhould retard his other deſign. The ſhips in the harbour had the ſame fate.

The viceroy now ſet ſail for Diu, where after ſeveral adventures he arrived on the ſecond day of February. Diu appears high at ſea, begirt with walls

walls and towers, being a ſtrong, beautiful, well-governed city, its appearance renewing in the Portugueze the memory of thoſe of their own country. Meliquez lord of this place was making war againſt the Rebuſti, about twenty leagues off; having conſtant information of the motion of the Portugueze fleet, they had ſcaree come to an anchor, when with wonderful celerity he flew to its defence. The viceroy after conſidering the ſtrong ſituation of the place, which was alſo much improved by art, the courage and conduct of Meliquez, ſupported by Mir-Hozem with above two hundred veſſels well manned, and furniſhed with all ſorts of neceſſaries, called a council, in which it was reſolved, that Nunno Vas Pereira ſhould lead with his ſhip, aboard of which were one hundred and twenty fighting men, moſt of them gentlemen of known valour. George de Melo was to ſecond him with the like number, who was to be followed by Peter Barreto de Magallanes, and he by Francis de Tavora, then Garcia de Souſa, and ſo the other ſhips carrying from twenty-five to eighty men each. The night was ſpent in preparing for the dangers of the enſuing day.

As ſoon as there was flood enough for the ſhips to ſwim, the admiral gave the ſignal for entering the port. On a ſudden the whole fleet began to move with loud ſhouts, and ſound of warlike inſtruments on both ſides. The ſhips of Meliquez advanced to hinder the entrance of the Portugueze, ſhowering bullets and arrows which did

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ſome execution. Notwithſtanding, the Portugueze preſſing forward, poured their ſhot among the ſhips of the enemy; ſome were ſunk, others taken, the reſt at laſt betook themſelves to flight. Above fifteen hundred of the enemy were killed, the Portugueze loſs amounting to near forty men. Of all the ſhips, which were full of immenſe riches, only four, and two gallies, were preſerved, the reſt were plundered and burnt. The glory of this victory is ſaid to have been ſullied by the cruelties of the Portugueze. The city was in great conſternation, leſt the conquerors ſhould aſſault it, but the weakneſs of the Portugueze, and their regard for the king of Cambaya, ſaved it from deſtruction. The viceroy after having ſettled an advantageous peace, ſet ſail for Chaoul, the king whereof terrified with the late victory became the tributary of Portugal.

At this time happened great diviſions between the viceroy and Alphonſo de Albuquerque about the government of India, the conſequence of which was, that Albuquerque was ſent priſoner to Cananor.

King Emanuel, informed of the preparations made by the ſultan of Cairo at Suez, reſolved to ſend a powerful fleet to the Indies. This conſiſted of fifteen ſail with three thouſand men on board, commanded by Ferdinando Coutinno, who was inveſted with extraordinary powers, as if he had foreſeen the differences between the viceroy and the governor who was appointed to ſucceed him. Nothing remarkable happened

him

him till he arrived at Cananor, where he ſet Alphonſo de Albuquerque at liberty, treating him as governor of India. From hence they ſet ſail together for Cochin. After this Almeida ſet out for Portugal. His return was not anſwerable to ſo fortunate a command. For landing in the bay of Saldagna near the Cape of Good Hope, and running to the aſſiſtance of his people who had quarelled with the natives, he was ſuddenly attacked by the blacks with ſharp ſtakes hardened in the fire, ſo furiouſly, that in a little time fifty gentlemen were killed, amongſt thoſe the viceroy, who expired kneeling on the ſand, his eyes lifted up to heaven, and his throat ſtruck thorough with one of thoſe ſtakes. Some authors relate the misfortunes of Almeida, as the juſt puniſhment of ſome cruelties he had committed. Thus died the firſt viceroy and governor of India, without enjoying thoſe honours which his conduct and virtue had ſo juſtly merited; and what his companions thought the moſt piteous circumſtance of all, abandoned without the rites of a decent funeral.

CHAP.

CHAP XI.

Albuquerque *enters upon the government of* India.

ALphonſo de Albuquerque was now governor of all the Indies, his great abilities, and the merits of his former ſervices, rendering him the moſt worthy of all others of ſuch a command. His firſt project after his advancement, was the deſtruction of Calicut the metropolis of the Zamorin, the ancient and inveterate enemy of the Portugueze, a city which had been the cauſe of infinite loſſes to that nation, who could not with reaſon hope for quiet whilſt it ſtood. This deſign, which he was to execute in conjunction with Fernando Coutinno, was kept very private; notwithſtanding, the Zamorin provided for his ſecurity, as did all the princes of that coaſt, whenever the Portugueze were in motion. The two chiefs ſet out for Cochin with thirty ſhips and eighteen hundred men, beſides ſome Malabars who followed the fleet in hopes of plunder. They arrived at Calicut on the ſecond of January, where after weighing the difficulties of landing, it was reſolved, that the ſquadron of Albuquerque ſhould be committed to the care of Antonio de Noronha his nephew; that of Coutinno to Roderigo Rabelo: whilſt the two leaders made the deſcent, Coutinno with eight hundred men and ſome field pieces, and the governor with the ſame number, and beſides them ſix hundred natives of Malabar. Things being thus concerted, the aſ-

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ſault is given: the enemy after a vigorous reſiſtance are forced to yield. The Portugueze colours are ſet up, whilſt Albuquerque enters the city with fire and ſword. Coutinno the other leader, raſhly advanced towards the palace of the Zamorin, which ſtood above five leagues from the ſhore; and ſuffering his men to diſperſe in queſt of plunder, the enemy now reinforced fell upon them whilſt they were all in diſorder, and loaden with booty, doing prodigious execution. Alphonſo did every thing in his power to reſcue them, and was himſelf very near being deſtroyed in the attempt. Coutinno was already killed with many more in the palace, and ſeveral on the high way whether oppreſſed by the multitude, ſpent with toil and heat, or ſtifled with the duſt. And now all had periſhed, if James Mendez Vaſconcellos and Simon de Andrade, who had been left by the governor in the city with a body of two thouſand men, had not ſtopt the fury of the enemy, and obliged them to retire. At laſt the Portugueze ſet ſail, having loſt eighty men, amongſt whom were many of note, and whereof Coutinno was one. Albuquerque being recovered of his wounds, and after diſpatching the trading ſhips homeward bound, ſailed for Cochin, where he made preparations for a third attempt on the iſland of Ormuz. Amidſt theſe proceedings James Lopez de Sequeira was ſent upon the diſcovery of the iſlands of Madagaſcar and Malacca. In this iſland, which is alſo called St. Laurence, he arrived in the port of St. Sebaſtian. Whilſt he coaſted along the ſhore, by the help of a Portugueze

tugueze interpreter, who had been left in that iſland, and ſo obliged to learn the language againſt his will, he found out a certain king called Diaman, who treated him with civility; but not being able to communicate any intelligence with reſpect to ſilver or ſpices, the great end of his voyage, he ſailed for India, after a great deal of trouble attended with no advantage.

Almeida, who was then viceroy, gave him a good reception, ſending another ſhip to aſſiſt him in the diſcovery of Malacca. At Pedir the king ſent him preſents, with offers highly advantageous; the ſame happened at Pacem; in both thoſe places he erected croſſes. At laſt he anchored in the port of Malacca, terrifying the coaſt with the diſcharge of his artillery, to that degree that the people ran to the ſhips in the harbour for ſafety. The king having learned that an ambaſſador was arrived from the king of Portugal with propoſals highly advantageous to his city, ſent back a meſſage concealed in doubtful expreſſions, as is commonly the caſe with thoſe who harbour pernicious deſigns. The king, perſuaded by certain foreign merchants who were apprehenſive of the ſettlement of the Portugueze to their traffic, had formed a deſign to deſtroy Lopez. Wherefore, in order to enſnare him, he received his ambaſſador with extraordinary courteſy, and promiſed to do the chief himſelf the honour to dine with him in public. He was accordingly invited, which invitation he accepted, when a Perſian woman, ſent by one of his people to inform him that the king intended

to

o aſſaſſinate him, endeavouring to come aboard
of his ſhip in the night; but not being admitted
by the admiral, who imagined this a pretence
n order to conceal ſome love adventure, ſhe ſent
notice by another, who came in time to ſave Lo-
ez and his ſquadron. He therefore excuſed
himſelf from waiting of the king, pretending to
e indiſpoſed. Another method was now de-
iſed, to put their treachery in execution. They
retended to make the Portugueze an offer of a
argo of ſpices, at the ſame time they informed
hem, that there was not a quantity ſufficient for
his purpoſe at any one place, hoping by this
ontrivance, to be able to oppreſs the Portugueze
leet whilſt they ſhould be thus divided, in order
o take in their loading. The ſtratagem ſucceeded
o far, that thirty men being ſent to receive the
merchandize, a fleet of ſeveral veſſels ſtood con-
ealed behind a point of land, in order to fall
pon the Portugueze ſhips, whilſt the inhabi-
ants cut to pieces ſuch of the Europeans as were
ſhore. Mean while, the ſon of Utimuti Raja
ame under pretence of viſiting Lopez, but really
ith a deſign to murder him, waiting only a ſig-
al from the town to plunge his dagger into his
reaſt, when a ſeaman, who ſtood centinel on
ne of the tops, called down to the admiral; trea-
hery! the villains aſſaſſinate our companions!
The rage of Lopez at this ſudden news ſo terrified
he aſſaſſin, who had come to murder him, that
e and all who were with him leaped into their
oats, and made off in the greateſt conſternation.
Lopez did every thing in human power on ſo

ſudden an emergency, and having ſunk many of the enemy's veſſels, and compelled the reſt to retire, he ſet ſail, ſixty of his men being made priſoners, and eight killed. He was afraid to ſee Albuquerque, ſo that without ſtopping, he proceeded alone for Europe.

CHAP. XII.

Conqueſt of Goa.

ALbuquerque had now taken all his meaſures for the reducing of Ormuz, for which place he ſet out from Cochin about the end of January, with ſeventeen hundred men, aboard of twenty-one ſhips of different ſizes. Coming before Onor, he ſtop'd for Timoia, a powerful man in thoſe parts, who ſupported his rank by piracy, and was deſirous of the friendſhip of the Portugueze. He came without delay, bringing great abundance of proviſions. As this perſon was well verſed in the affairs of Aſia, Albuquerque communicated his deſign to him. Timoia diſſuaded him from this deſign, repreſenting, that an attempt upon Goa was much more adviſeable, a place, which beſides that it was altogether unprovided, was alſo of infinite greater conſequence. The new deſign was univerſally approved of; and Timoia, the better to deceive Goa, gave out, that the twelve ſhips he had equipped were to accompany the Portugueze to Ormuz. The deſire of revenging the injuries of his relations and neighbours, who had not only

treated

treated him ill, but had alſo diſpoſſeſſed him of his fortune, was the cauſe of his attachment to the Portugueze. They came to an anchor in the port of Goa, on the twenty-fifth day of February. Ticuari is an iſland on the coaſt of Canara, formed by two mouths of the river Gacim. Its length from eaſt to weſt, three leagues; the breadth, one. The face of the country is diverſified with hills and plains, abounding in ſprings of excellent water, fertile, delightful and healthy. On the northern part of it ſtands the city of Goa, formerly ſeated on the ſouth. The city at this time in being, was built by Melique Hozem a Moor, about forty years before the arrival of the Portugueze. The æra of the foundation of the old is unknown. Some remains of chriſtianity ſeem to countenance the common opinion of St. Thomas the apoſtle's preaching in thoſe parts.

The firſt deſcents of the Moors upon India, were about the year thirteen hundred, when Sha Noſar Adin firſt attempted it, coming from the North with a great power, and ſubduing all the gentile nations, as far as the kingdom of Canara. Thence he returned to Delhi, leaving Habed Shâ to proſecute his conqueſts, whoſe valour and conduct raiſed him to ſuch a height of power as to rival his maſter; and Madura his nephew, proſecuting thoſe beginnings, made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of Canara, and caſting off his allegiance to the king, he called his new dominion Decan, a name derived from the various nations which compoſed the army wherewith he

had conquered it. Mamûd Shâ left nothing undone to preſerve entire this vaſt empire; but notwithſtanding all his attention, the governors entruſted with the care of the provinces, found means to withdraw them from his obedience, and to erect them into ſo many ſovereignties. The greateſt of theſe was that of Goa, when the Portugueze firſt appeared in the Eaſt. Sabayo the reigning prince, dying about the time of this expedition of Albuquerque, Cuſo Hidalcan, or Kûpho Adel Khan, had now made himſelf maſter of Goa, and put it into the hands of his ſon Iſmael. The other princes were, Niſa Maluco, who poſſeſſed Viſapour, Mudra Maluco, Melic Verido, Coja Mozadan, Abexeipaido, and Cota Maluco. Of theſe princes, who, excepting Niſa Maluco, were all foreigners, three far exceeded the others in power and extent of dominion; that is to ſay, Niſa Maluco, otherwiſe called Niſam Al Mulk, and ſometimes Nizam Shâ, who, as is ſaid above, was king of Viſapour: Cota Maluco, who was monarch of Golconda, and Adel Shâ the prince of Biſnagar. Sabayo was a native of Saba a city of Perſia, from whenc ehe had his name. Altho' but of mean extraction, yet ſo great were his military virtues, that his maſter the king of Decan gave him the city of Kilberga. Thence he extended his conqueſts over the idolaters of Biſnagar, and afterwards over the iſland of Goa, lately poſſeſſed by the Moors of Onor, Melique Hozem then lord of it being killed in its defence. The conqueſt of this iſland with its dependencies, rendered

dered the new conqueror of it the moſt powerful of all thoſe princes; againſt whom he maintained himſelf while he lived: but the death of this prince produced great alterations.

Albuquerque ſent his nephew Antonio de Noronha, to ſound the river on whoſe bank Góa is ſeated, and together with him Timoia, whoſe fleet and army, as we have already narrated, aſſiſted Albuquerque on this occaſion. As they advanced they found themſelves ſtopped by a fort well furniſhed with cannon, and defended by a garriſon of four hundred men, commanded by Yazu Gorji, a Turk of diſtinguiſhed abilities and valour. They ſtormed it, took, entered it; the governor flying to the city. Timoia took another bulwark with thirty men. Next day Albuquerque entered the river to aſſault the town. He was met on his way by Mîr Ali and other principal perſons of the place, who offered to ſurrender it on condition that their lives, liberties and eſtates were preſerved to them. This unexpected ſucceſs was the effect of the reports which Yazu the governor of the outworks had made of the Portugueze valour, and to the religious belief of a certain prophecy uttered ſome time before by one of the Joghi's or religious of that country. This viſionary had declared, that not long after the city of Goa ſhould become ſubject to ſtrangers. Albuquerque was received at his landing with ſupreme honours, he was mounted on a horſe of ſurpriſing beauty, and ſuperbly capariſoned. At the gate he was preſented with the keys of that metropolis, and preceded in this triumph to the ſeat of the kings,

from hence diſpatching embaſſies to ſovereign princes all around. The towns depending upon Goa immediately made their ſubmiſſion to the conqueror.

The Moors could not think of parting ſo eaſily with ſuch a city as Goa, and repentance overtook them ſoon after. They revolted. Iſmael Hidalcan, or Adel Khân, theſe laſt words ſignifying the king of juſtice, a common title of thoſe princes, returned at the ſame time with a great power. Camalcam, or Kamel Khân, his general, was ſent before with fifteen hundred horſe and eight thouſand foot. Albuquerque after putting to death the authors of the revolt, prepared for his defence. Kamel Khân entered the iſland, tho' with loſs, and encamped about the city whither all the Portugueze had retired. The place is cannonaded with good effect. Albuquerque on the other hand, is every where, overſees, provides, encourages the men, never reſts, omits nothing, and is in every thing a great commander. Now Adel Khân arrives with a power of ſixty thouſand ſoldiers, whereof five thouſand were horſe. The Portugueze, who ſaw nothing but danger on all ſides, without any hope of ſucceſs, reſolved to yield to the times and to abandon the city in the night, which was executed with infinite hazard, Adel Khân having begun to cut off their retreat to their ſhips. Albuquerque had his horſe killed under him, having made good his retreat without loſs, after a ſiege which had laſted twenty days.

Albuquerque had quitted Goa with regret. The

The very ſame year ſtrengthened by ſuccours from Europe, he left Cananor with twenty-three ſhips and fifteen hundred fighting men. On the twenty-ſecond of November he anchored a ſecond time before that city, and at day-break aſſaulted it with great ſlaughter, the Portugueze entering with the flying enemy. Numbers are cut to pieces in the ſtreets. The fight is renewed with fury at the palace. The Moors make a ſtand; the fortune of the fight changing to the ſide of the Moors, the Portugueze are in their turn in great danger, when Albuquerque, whoſe preſence threw the enemy into confuſion, reſtores ſucceſs to the Europeans. The Moors turn their backs and fly; terror and confuſion purſue them to the river, where hurrying from the ſwords of their enemies, they periſh miſerably in the river. Of nine thouſand who defended the place, ſix thouſand were drowned or cut to pieces; and of the Portugueze were killed no more than fifty. The booty of horſes, artillery, proviſions, and ſhips, was ineſtimable. No Moor was left alive on the iſland: but the native gentiles were reſtored to their farms, and the government of this people given to Timoia, who came not till after the city was taken. After this proſperous ſucceſs, ambaſſadors were ſent by the princes of Malabar to congratulate Albuquerque, who after laying the foundations of a fort, called from the king Emanuel, coined ſilver and copper money; and thus raiſing the credit of his nation, and ſpreading their glory over all the Eaſt, he eſtabliſhed Goa, the retreat and bul-

wark of the Portugueze in India. After leaving a garriſon in the city, conſiſting of fourteen hundred Portugueze, and five thouſand gentiles for the defence of the country, under the command of the nephew of the king of Onor, he departed for Cochin; where under pretence of going againſt the city of Aden in Arabia, he prepared for the conqueſt of Malacca.

CHAP. XIII.

The Conqueſt of Malacca.

THE conqueſt of Goa, however important, did not ſatisfy the ambition of this commander, always deſirous to extend his own reputation by adding to the dominions of his ſovereign. The ſituation and trade of Malacca rendered it the next worthy object of his attention. This city is ſituated on a promontory, commonly known by the name of Aurea Cherſoneſus, or the Golden peninſula, near the middle of that frith or channel which divides the iſland of Sumatra from the continent of India beyond the Ganges. It ſtands ſomewhat more than two degrees to the northern ſide of the equinoctial circle, ſtretching along the ſhore ſomething in the manner of Liſbon. It forms a pleaſing proſpect from the ſea. A river divides it into two parts, which communicate one with another by a bridge laid over it. The buildings were of wood, except the royal palace and the moſque or temple

temple of the Mohammedans, which were of ſtone. It was anciently well fortified with works. The port was conſtantly thronged with ſhips from the neighbouring countries, of which it was the mart and ſtaple. Its firſt founders were the Selates, a people who lived for the moſt part by fiſhing. Theſe joined themſelves to the Malays, who before inhabited the mountains. They were conducted by one Pariſamora, to whom they had voluntarily ſubmitted. This man had occupied no inconſiderable rank in the iſland of Java; but being drove out by a tyrant who had uſurped his lordſhip, he fled to Sincapura, and was hoſpitably entertained by the king. Rebelling againſt his hoſt, he was again expelled by the king of Siam, and ſo forced to wander about Malacca, juſtly puniſhed for his ingratitude. Having increaſed the new colony, he gave it the name of his own fortune; for Malacca, in the Malayan language, ſignifies a baniſhed man. The firſt king of Malacca, was Xaque Darxa, or as we ſpell it Shaque Darſhâh, according to many authors Raal Sabu, ſon of Pariſamora, ſubject however to that king of Siam from whom his ſucceſſors revolted. The country of Malacca is ſubject to inundations, is covered with thick impenetrable woods, and is infeſted with hurtful and dangerous creatures, chiefly tygers, for fear of which the inhabitants often paſs their nights on the tops of the higheſt trees, becauſe on the lower ones they had not been ſafe from the reach of thoſe voracious animals. The men are bold, the women laſcivous. This being the centre of the commerce

commerce of the Eaſt and Weſt, renders it both rich and populous.

Mohammed reigned in Malacca when the Portugueze admiral arrived. He had been attacked by the army of the king of Siam, moſt whereof had periſhed in the attempt, ſome by ſundry accidents, and ſome by the treachery of Mohammed, to Diego Lopez de Sequeira. Mohammed ſtung with his own conſcience, which reproached him with the baſeneſs he had been guilty of, and out of dread of Albuquerque and his Europeans, ſought the aſſiſtance of the king of Pahan. This prince, moved with a danger which threatened all thoſe monarchs equally, joined Mohammed with a great power. The united army conſiſted of thirty thouſand men, and, if we can believe authors, eight thouſand pieces of cannon. Albuquerque left Cochin for Malacca, with nineteen ſtrong ſhips and fourteen hundred fighting men, whereof eight hundred were natives of Portugal, the reſt Malabars. Before Ceylon he took five ſhips belonging to the Moors. As ſoon as he came upon the coaſt of Sumatra, he was viſited by ſome Moors ſent by the kings of Padir and Pazem. One thing remarkable in this expedition was this: Nehoada Beghea, a man who had been a principal author in the perfidy at Malacca, was taken on their paſſage, and tho' pierced with ſeveral mortal wounds, what was wonderful to ſee, not one drop of blood iſſued from his body, till a bracelet which he wore about his arm being taken off, the blood all of a ſudden ſtreamed plentifully from his wounds. The Indians who knew

knew the cauſe of this aſtoniſhment, told the Portugueze, that the ornament that had cauſed this ſurpriſing accident was made of the bone of an animal which breeds in the iſland of Java. This was eſteemed a precious booty, and was preſented to the admiral as to the moſt worthy. The day after they overtook a ſhip in which were three hundred Moors; and ſuch was their intrepidity and gallantry, that in vain did the Portugueze attempt to take her, till Albuquerque himſelf engaged her, and after a long reſiſtance in which he had not been free from danger, obliged her to ſurrender.

On the firſt day of July, Albuquerque caſt anchor in the port of Malacca, the thunder of his cannon, and the ſound of warlike inſtruments, terrifying the ſhore, which was crowded with multitudes of people of all ages and ſexes. Next day came forth a Moor of a majeſtic appearance, to tell the chief on the part of the king, that, if he came for merchandize, he had only to lay his commands upon him, that what he wanted waited for him. Albuquerque received their meſſenger with his uſual pomp, and with diſtinguiſhed courteſy. He bid him, from him, tell his king, that the merchandize he ſought for, was the liberty of thoſe chriſtians whom Sequeira had left behind him; this done, he would let the king know his further requeſts. This demand made with ſo much authority, terrified the infidels. The general opinion was, that the danger of ſuch enemies was to be removed at any expence, to render up the chriſtians,

ſtians, and a preſent of money added to win their favour. This was prevented by Aladin, or Aladdîn, and the king of Pahan, the king's brother-in-law. Albuquerque diſſatisfied at this delay, began to ſet fire to the city, when the king to appeaſe his anger reſtored the captives, and ſent to deſire a peace upon certain conditions. The anſwer was, that peace was granted him, provided the general of the Europeans was ſuffered to build a fort where he judged proper; that the king ſhould defray the expence of his expedition againſt him, as alſo that of Sequeira; that his anſwer muſt be immediate, peace or war; that if he thought the terms hard, he ſhould reflect on his own baſeneſs and perfidy which were the cauſe of them, and of all the evils that had happened.

The king wiſhed to put an end to the miſeries of war, but was oppoſed by his own ſon, and by his brother-in-law. Wherefore Albuquerque reſolved to proceed to hoſtilities. Accordingly he landed his men, and the war began with prodigious fury on both ſides. The fierceſt encounter was about the bridge, which the Europeans ſtruggled hard to gain, the prince and king of Pahan defending it with inflexible reſolution. To augment the terror of the day, king Mohammed himſelf came up, mounted on an elephant of a terrifying bulk, with two others carrying caſtles, whence flew ſhowers of darts, arrows, and other miſſive weapons poiſoned in the gore of venomous animals. All this however did not daunt the courage of the Europeans. At laſt thoſe vaſt animals

animals ſtung with the ſhot of the chriſtians, turned their backs and fled, trampling and cruſhing to pieces their own people, and thus the bridge was abandoned to the conquerors, who made way for the reſt of their men to join them. Albuquerque immediately ſeized the fort, and fortified himſelf in it: but night coming on, he retired to the ſhips in order to repair the bodies of his ſoldiers who were faint thro' heat and want of food, ten of whom expired of the wounds they had received by poiſoned arrows. The enemy's loſs was not acknowledged. The king of Pahan, the kindler of this flame, went away on pretence of bringing a recruit, but never more returned. Mean time Mohammed redoubles his aſſiduity, undermines the ſtreets, and by a ſtratagem unknown in our hemiſphere, covers the ways with poiſoned thorns, thus providing with incredible induſtry to ſecure the paſſage of the bridge: which Albuquerque perceiving, ſent Antonio de Abreu with a veſſel ſtrongly manned to gain this important poſt. Antonio paſſed amidſt ſhowers of bullets, and that he might not be ſaid to abandon it, would not ſuffer himſelf to be brought off tho' deſperately wounded. Preparations of wildfire and other inflammable matter were ſent down the river to burn his veſſel. This was prevented by the general, who made himſelf maſter of the bridge, entering the city thro' a mingled ſtorm of bullets, arrows, darts, and other mortal miſſives. He then advanced to the moſque, which he alſo gained, carefully avoiding the mines with which the broad ſtreet was quite hollowed

hollowed below: and thus at laſt with vaſt ſlaughter of the enemy, he got poſſeſſion of the city with no more than a handful of ſoldiers. Every thing was abandoned to the ſword and to pillage; the Moors were all cut in pieces and exterminated. Three thouſand pieces of great cannon were found out of eight thouſand which were in the place; the reſt were carried to Bintang, where Mohammed and prince Aladdîn had fortified themſelves: hither Albuquerque purſued them, put the prince to flight, and took ſeven elephants, whoſe trappings were immenſely rich. Mohammed eſcaped to the woods, wandering from place to place, with his ſon, whom he continually reproached with having cauſed all his miſeries by his obſtinacy. They afterwards fell at variance and ſeparated. Albuquerque loſt no time, built a fort, peopled the city with ſtrangers whom he invited thither, moſtly Malayans, rears a church for divine worſhip, coins money of different ſpecies, ſome whereof he threw among the people in order to render his government the more agreeable to the new inhabitants; thus by his prudence and winning behaviour confirming this new but important conqueſt. Albuquerque had out of political views entruſted the government of the Moors in the city to Utimuti Raja: but detecting him in a conſpiracy with the enemies of the Portugueze, he had him apprehended with his ſon and ſon-in-law, and they were executed on the ſame ſcaffold they had built for the murder of Sequeira. This was the firſt act of this ſort done by

by the Portugueze in the Indies. Two other princes likewiſe attempted to ſeize the city of Malacca; but with like bad ſucceſs. The king of Siam overjoyed to ſee his quarrel ſo well revenged, ſent to teſtify his ſatisfaction. The governor ſent alſo ambaſſadors in his turn to Siam and to Pegu, with ſome perſons to diſcover the iſlands of Molucca and Banda. Then leaving a garriſon in the fort, and a ſquadron to guard the ſeas, he returned towards Cochin. His paſſage was remarkable for a prodigious ſtorm, in which a great part of his fleet with all his riches periſhed, he himſelf narrowly eſcaping. Whilſt Albuquerque had been employed in this expedition, Goa was beſieged by an army of the followers of Adel Khân, to the number of twenty thouſand, who had been encouraged by ſome natives within the place; but the viceroy arriving at the ſame time, the ſiege was raiſed. The king of Calicut ſued for peace, and gave liberty to build a fort. The fame of theſe conqueſts ſpread all over the eaſtern world. Ambaſſadors were ſent from many princes of the country, and amongſt others an ambaſſador from Preſter John, deſiring to be ſent into the kingdom of Portugal.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Other expeditions of the great Albuquerque. *He ſubdues* Ormuz. *His death and character.*

THE next attempt was againſt Aden. In the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and thirteen, Albuquerque ſet out for the conqueſt of this city, with twenty ſhips, aboard of which were ſeventeen hundred Portugueze, and beſides, eight hundred Indians of the countries of Canarin and Malabar.

Aden ſtands on the coaſt of Arabia, ſurnamed the Happy, near the place where the Red-ſea is joined to the ocean. Over it appears the mountain Arziza, all a barren rock, divided into many cliffs. The proſpect from the ſea is very beautiful, and it has the look of a place of great ſtrength. It is rich, and famous for the reſort of many nations. Water is very ſcarce, for which they depend on the heavens, which do not ſupply them above once in three years. Hence it is void of all trees, plants, or orchards, the delight and ornament of other towns.

They attempted to ſcale the walls; but after four days trial, with great diſappointments, and ſome loſs, they were obliged to abandon their enterpriſe, after taking a bulwark which guarded the port with thirty-nine pieces of great cannon, and burning the ſhips which had firſt been plundered.

From hence they ſailed for the Red-ſea, which heretofore had never felt the weight of a Portugueze

gueze veſſel. Four ſhips were taken at the iſland Camaran, where the ſtormy ſeaſon overtaking them they were obliged to winter. They departed in July, and appeared before Aden a ſecond time, which being ſtrengthened with new works, they abandoned that deſign, and ſailed for Diu, where they had liberty to build a fort.

Malacca was in great danger of being reduced by Pati Quiter, but after all his endeavours, he was obliged to eſcape to Java his native country. From this iſland, Pati Unuz, lord of the city of Japara, and afterwards king of Sunda, invaded Malacca with a great fleet and a powerful army. His navy conſiſted of ſixteen ſhips, ſome whereof were equal in ſize to galleons, the land force amounting to twelve thouſand fighting men. He had been ſeven years preparing for this deſcent, keeping a conſtant and ſecret correſpondence with the Javaneſe in that city. Fernando Perez made head againſt him with ſeventeen ſhips, three hundred and fifty Portugueze, and ſome Indians. Two bloody encounters enſued, in the laſt of which Unuz was put to flight, ſaving himſelf in his largeſt ſhip with an infinite treaſure. The Javans henceforth were for ever baniſhed the place. Soon after Mahommed the late king attempted to reduce his ancient government; but when he was on the point of ſucceeding, his good fortune abandoned him, and he failed of his aim.

Albuquerque now revolved the conqueſt of Ormuz. He ſet out with a fleet of twenty-ſeven

ſail, wherein were fifteen hundred Portugueze ſoldiers, and ſix hundred Indians of Malabar and Canarin. As ſoon as he caſt anchor, he was viſited by perſons from the king, who brought him preſents. Albuquerque demanded to be put in poſſeſſion of the fort he had begun to build there, and required that the inſtrument by which the king Sayf-Addin had convey'd the ſovereignty of that country, ſhould be tranſmitted him by the hands of ſome of the chiefs of the country. He ſoon obtained what thro' weakneſs they dared not refuſe. All his demands were granted, the governor Reis Nûr-Addin with his nephew ratifying the whole in perſon. They returned enriched with the preſents they had received from the general, beſides a collar of maſſy gold which was for the king. Albuquerque haſtened the building the fort, and while the work was carrying on, that he might leave the natives no power of diſturbing his government, he fell upon the following ſtratagem. He pretended that a great fleet was coming againſt him from Egypt, and deſired them to lend him the cannon of the place for their common defence. They endeavoured by all ſorts of perſuaſions to prevent the laſt blow to their liberties, but in vain. Albuquerque would not be refuſed. The artillery was delivered, and thus Ormuz was entirel yſubdued to the power of the Portugueze. While Albuquerque was buſied in confirming his new conqueſts, ambaſſadors arrived from Perſia, whither the fame of his victories had reached. He was glad of an alliance which might ſtrengthen the chriſtians,

chriſtians, by occupying the Mahommedans in the Indies. He therefore received them with open arms, made them rich preſents, and to put them into a condition to withſtand the Turks, whoſe artillery was dreadful to them, he added a number of braſs cannon and other engines of war for the monarch, with men ſkilled in the management of them. Thus by theſe and other ſuch prudent meaſures, this great man extended and eſtabliſhed the power of the Portugueze nation in the Eaſt. Don Alphonſo returned into India, where he died on the 16th of December one thouſand five hundred and fifteen, after having lived ſixty-three years. Some hiſtorians write, that the news of a ſucceſſor being ſent into the Indies haſtened his fate. His fame ſtill flouriſhes in the Eaſt, where he is known by the name of Albuquerque Malandy, from Melinda a city of Africa, which had the honour to give him birth; but amongſt the Portugueze and other European nations, he is ſtiled the great Albuquerque. Thus died the greateſt ſtateſman, the moſt conſummate general, and the beſt citizen of all the Portugueze commanders that ever ſailed the Eaſtern ocean: and thus was eſtabliſhed the glory and power of that nation in the Indies, which was firſt ſet in motion by the fiery impetuoſity of Pacheco; was then formed and extended by the courage and ſteadineſs of Almeida and his brave ſon; and laſtly, by the prodigious abilities of the great Albuquerque, was brought to that ſtate of glory and ſtability, that it filled all the Eaſt with terror and aſtoniſh-

ment. A laſting and bright example ſet by the monarch, grandees, and people of Portugal, to all the nations of Europe addicted to commerce and maritime affairs, and eſpecially to that of Great Britain, whoſe glory at ſea eclipſes that of all the nations that now, or perhaps ever did exiſt! After adding Ormuz, Goa, and Malacca to the dominions of Portugal, this great general, whoſe exploits I have related as fully as the nature of my deſign would permit, had formed the plan of two projects, which muſt have ſtill added to his fame; the firſt was, to ruin the trade of the Turks in the Indies, and the commerce of Alexandria, by turning the courſe of the Nile from Egypt into the Red-ſea. The ſecond was by a deſcent on Arabia, from the iſland of Ormuz, to plunder the tomb and deſtroy the relicks of Mohammed, and ſo to hinder that concourſe of thoſe nations who are addicted to that ſuperſtition, which brought an infinite trade in Indian commodities into this kingdom.

CHAP. XV.

Lope Soarez de Albergaria *governor of the* Indies.

ALBUQUERQUE left the Portuguese power in Aſia at its height, which from henceforward declined daily, they being afterwards employed rather in defending than enlarging

larging their conqueſts. Hitherto the governors and officers had been led by principles of honour and love for the proſperity of their country, but afterwards, men being advanced to the chief command more out of an idle and pernicious reſpect to their birth, than to real and ſolid merit, inſtead of leaders, they became merchants, ſacrificing all their concern for the public to the mean ſearch after riches, in order to ſupport the falſe pageantry of their rank and families at home.

The new chief Lope Soarez de Albergaria found every thing at his acceſſion to the government in the moſt admirable order. The Indian nations were in a ſtate of profound tranquillity, and the army in a condition to execute the higheſt deſigns. The fleet he brought along with him conſiſted of thirteen ſhips, with fifteen hundred choſen Portugueze aboard, many of them gentlemen by birth, and moſt of them ſuch by their actions. His firſt expedition was againſt the Egyptian fleet in the Red-ſea. He ſet out with twenty-ſeven ſhips of all dimenſions, and an army conſiſting of twelve hundred Europeans, and ſixteen hundred Malabars. Arriving at Aden in Arabia, he was offered the keys of the city, but he neglected to take poſſeſſion of it, putting it off till he ſhould return from the purſuit of the Egyptians, who had been driven by tempeſtuous weather as high as Jodda or Jidda, a city of ſome ſtrength on the coaſt of Arabia the Happy.

The event of this expedition was, that the Portugueze, after ſuffering equally by famine

and their enemies, abandoned their deſign, and appearing before Zeila, a city ſeated on the mouth of the Red-ſea, on the African ſhore, which was not provided for ſuch a viſit, the place was carried without oppoſition, and burnt down to the ground. This was then the chief mart in thoſe parts. From hence the fleet bent its courſe for Aden. The governor repenting of his former eaſineſs and condeſcenſion, eluded the promiſe he had made to deliver the place to the Portugueze general, by feigned delays. Soarez finding the walls rebuilt, and the city in a condition of defence, retired. He next ſteered for Barbora, intending to deſtroy this city as he had before done Zeila: but a ſtorm which overtook him ſcattered his fleet, and drowned eight hundred of his men. He therefore deferred his attempt till the year following, when the place was without oppoſition taken, pillaged, and burnt to aſhes.

The Turks had now conquered Egypt, and made themſelves maſters of the Red-ſea, ſo that henceforth the coaſts of Egypt and Arabia were ſecured by new ſtrong holds.

The diſorder which reigned at Goa brought on a ſiege, which had but a ſmall continuance; and the imprudent government of George de Brito, who commanded at Malacca, occaſioned the like diſaſter in that place. His tyranny drove the inhabitants to deſpair, and they abandoned the city: at the ſame time the late king came with a conſiderable force to recover his ancient ſcepter; and there had been an end of the Portugueze power, had not

not Alexis de Menezes come to its relief with three hundred Portugueze. His arrival fruſtrated the projects of the king, and ſecured Malacca to the Portugueze. It was peopled anew with Siameſe, ſent thither at the requeſt of Menezes, by the king of their country. Lope Soarez now prepared to ſail for Ceylon.

This iſland, which the ancient inhabitants term Il'anare, and the Arabians and Perſians, Serandib, or Selandiu, that is to ſay, the iſland of Selan, is ſituated over againſt that promontory which forms the ſouthern point of the hither peninſula of India, commonly known by the name of Cape Comorin, to which it is ſaid by ancient tradition to have been joined of old, and from which it is divided by a channel ſixteen leagues over. This iſland contains nine kingdoms; Colombo, ſituated to the weſt; Gale, which lies in the ſouthern parts; and between theſe are found Iaula, Tanavaka, Candé, Batecalon, Vilaſem, Triquinamalé, and Japhanapatam. The prince of Colombo had formerly ſought the friendſhip of the Portugueze, with whom he had ſettled a trade, and provided them with cinnamon, ever ſince the time of Albuquerque. Soarez intended to compel the king to pay tribute, and to grant liberty to build a fort, purſuant to the orders of king Emanuel. He weighed anchor (1517) with a fleet of ſeventeen ſhips of all dimenſions, aboard of which were ſeven hundred ſoldiers, all Europeans. The king was aſſiſted by the Moors. An engagement enſued, the iſlanders and Moors are

put to flight, and the king conſents to become the ſubject of Portugal. The conditions were, that he ſhould pay yearly to that crown, twelve hundred quintals of cinnamon, twelve rings of rubies and ſaphires, and ſix elephants, commodities in which Ceylon remarkably abounds. The king of Pam, a country in the neighbourhood of Malacca, followed the example of him of Colombo, and voluntarily yielded himſelf a tributary to the Portugueze monarch, in token whereof he conſented to pay him yearly a cup of gold. John de Silveira about this time ſettled a factory in the Maldive iſlands.

Duarte Coello, another of the chiefs of Europe, concluded a peace with the king of Siam, next to thoſe of China and Biſnagar, the greateſt prince in all the Indies. Fernan Perez de Andrada, after many difficulties which lay in the way of that undertaking, arrived at Quanton or Canton in China; he eſtabliſhed a trade to that coaſt, and returned to Malacca, loaden with riches. He ſailed from this city in company with Edward de Menezes for the port of Cochin. The king of Bin-tang, tho' he had juſt before concluded a treaty of peace, waited the abſence of the Portugueze chiefs, in order to fall upon the city unprovided. The garriſon conſiſted of no more than two hundred European ſoldiers. In this condition the king of Bin-tang came againſt it, with a land army of fifteen hundred men, a great number of elephants, and a navy of ſixty ſhips. After a ſiege of twenty days continuance,

in

in which he had ſuſtained conſiderable loſs, he withdrew his forces, intending to intercept the proviſions of the garriſon, and force it thro' famine to ſurrender. But ſeeing Garcia de Sa ſtrengthen the place with an addition of ſixty men, he abandoned the attempt.

The following year arrived Antonio Correa from Martaban, where he had concluded a treaty with the king of Pegu, which was ſolemnly ratified in the preſence of the prieſts of both nations. The conditions were drawn up in the golden mine, a cuſtom always obſerved by thoſe nations. After theſe were read over, the gentile prieſt began to look upon a book; and taking up ſome paper of a yellow tinct, a colour ſacred to divine rites, he threw it into the flames, together with aromatic flames of a grateful ſcent, on which certain myſtic characters were inſcribed. Then taking the king's miniſter by the hands, held them over the aſhes, at the ſame time repeating ſome words which were deemed to render the oath ſacred and inviolable. The metropolis of this kingdom is Bagou, or Pegu, as we commonly but corruptly call it. On the weſt of it is the bay of Bengala; on the eaſt, the kingdom of Siam; on the ſouth, that of Malacca; and on the north, that of Arracam. The length and breadth are in many places nearly the ſame, that is to ſay, almoſt a hundred leagues every way, without including its conqueſts. The country is level, well watered, and fertile, as well in grain as in cattle. Its numerous temples are crowded

crowded with multitudes of idolatrous divinities, worſhiped with vaſt variety of ceremonies by the ſuperſtitious inhabitants. Sodomy is a vice to which this nation is univerſally addicted.

CHAP. XVI.

Government and actions of James Lopez de Sequeira.

DIEGO, or James Lopez de Sequeira, ſucceeded Soarez in the government of India. He ſet ſail from Goa for the Red-ſea, with a fleet of twenty-four ſail, aboard of which were eighteen hundred Portugueze, and almoſt an equal number of Malabars and Canarans. This expedition was intended againſt the iſland of Maçua, the inhabitants whereof fled at his approach. They took ſanctuary at Arquico, a city of Abyſſinia or Abaſſia, the empire of Preſbyter John, whoſe ambaſſador Sequeira then had on board. This gave occaſion to the confirmation of the treaty between the two monarchs. For the governor of the place, under whoſe protection the inhabitants of Maçua had put themſelves, ſent a meſſenger to James Lopez. He told him that the profeſſors of the ſame faith, for that people were alſo chriſtians, ought rather to add vigor to the chriſtian religion in the Eaſt by a firm peace between them, inſtead of perſecuting each other with injuries like enemies; that a prophecy which had foretold the arrival of foreign chriſtians to ſettle a correſpondence

dence with them, perſuaded him that the Portugueze whoſe colours he then ſaw diſplayed, were the very nation who were to fulfil it. The governor returning a favourable anſwer, ſtood in to the ſhore, when ſome of the chriſtian inhabitants coming on board, found the ambaſſador of their prince, who was about to land in his way to his maſter. They embraced him with great reſpect and joy, and he no leſs rejoiced to be reſtored to his native country after an abſence of ten years continuance.

The kingdom now diſcovered by the Portugueze, is moſt commonly known by the improper appellation of the kingdom or empire of Preſter John: the true name of it being the kingdom of Abaſſia, or the empire of the higher Ethiopia. It derived this name from a great prince, called Jovarus, corruptly Preſter John, deſcended from the chriſtians of Tartary, and who was diſtinguiſhed by the croſs which he carried in his hand, as well as by the title of defender of the faith. His dominions lie between the rivers Nile, Aſtabora, and Aſtapus. On the eaſtern ſide they run for the ſpace of one hundred and twenty leagues along the ſhore of the Red-ſea, this being the ſhorteſt boundary of this empire, its circumference containing ſix hundred and ſeventy leagues in all. The weſtern parts touch the country of thoſe negroes who poſſeſs thoſe immenſely rich mines of gold, for which they pay tribute to the Portugueze. A line drawn from the city Suanquem to the iſland Meroe or Noba,

Noba, divides it from the Moors towards the north. Its ſouthern frontier borders on the kingdom of Adea, from whoſe mountains falls the river Obi, which loſes itſelf in the ſea near the town of Quilmance in the kingdom of Melinda.

The kings of Abaſſia, fond like all others of an high deſcent, deduce their origin from Solomon, and that queen of Saba, who went ſo far to have offſpring by a king famed over all the Eaſt for the extraordinary talents of his mind. They boaſt of queen Candace, as ſhe who firſt planted chriſtianity amongſt them. The titles of this prince ſavour of this auguſt pedigree: David, beloved of God, pillar of the faith, of kin to the ſtock of Juda, grandſon of David, ſon of Solomon, ſon of the pillar of Sion, ſon of the progeny of Jacob, ſon of the hand of Mary, &c. emperor of the great and high Ethiopia, &c. The people are very religious, the country having many churches, and a number of religious perſons. Here are no conſiderable towns, no knowledge of arts, nor any ſkill in mechanics, their diet and clothing ſuitable to the manners of a people ſo little cultivated. The prince lives for the moſt part in the fields in a populous city of tents, which does not long remain in the ſame place. This is the account the Portugueze diſcoverers gave of this country, to which the author of theſe ſheets will not now make any addition.

No ſooner was the news of the arrival of the Abyſſinian ambaſſador known at court, than the governor

governor of that province came to meet him. He appeared on the ſhore with a retinue conſiſting of two hundred horſe and a thouſand foot. The differences ariſing from the point of honour and precedence between him and the Portugueze commander being adjuſted, they met upon the water's edge; and after being ſeated on two chairs on the ſand, which at that time burnt with the heat of the ſun, the ambaſſador was reſtored to his country, and with him went another perſon, veſted by Emanuel with the ſame character for the emperor of Abyſſinia. A treaty was next ſet in agitation, by which the Portugueze were to be permitted to build a fortreſs againſt the Moors on the iſland Camaran, or that of Maçua, which being ſworn to on both ſides, and mutual preſents made, they parted. A great croſs was erected in the port to perpetuate the memory of this tranſaction. After burning the city of Dalaca, the admiral ſtood over for the coaſt of Arabia. At Calayate he found George de Albuquerque, who waited his coming, and who had lately arrived from Europe, from whence Emanuel had ſent him with a ſquadron under his command, which had been diſperſed by bad weather.

Whilſt the Portugueze governor was buſied in the Red-ſea, Chriſnarao king of Biſnagar invaded Hidalcan, with a power which covered the plains and the mountains, and drank up rivers. This army conſiſted of thirty-five thouſand horſe, ſeven hundred and thirty-three thouſand

ſand foot, five hundred and eighty-ſix elephants loaded with caſtles, in each of which were four men; and that this vaſt army ſhould not diſperſe or ſuffer from the want of water, twelve thouſand water carriers were employed to ſupply all parts. The baggage was numberleſs, amongſt which, and what was not perhaps the leaſt cumbrous part of it, were twenty thouſand common women. He led all this power to reduce Rachol, a city belonging of right to his anceſtors, who had left it ever in charge to their ſucceſſors, to recover this place at any hazard or expence.

Rachol was by its ſituation almoſt impregnable, ſeated on a high mountain, encompaſſed with ſeveral walls, guarded by broad and deep ditches, ſtrong towers, ſtored with artillery, and all other inſtruments of defence; its garriſon conſiſting of four hundred horſe, eight thouſand foot, twenty elephants, beſides proviſion and warlike ſtores ſufficient for the longeſt ſiege. Chriſnarao inveſted the place on all ſides, and in the courſe of three months that he lay before it, gave in vain repeated aſſaults, when Hidalcan came to its relief with eighteen thouſand horſe, one hundred and twenty thouſand foot, an hundred and fifty elephants, and a prodigious number of great ordnance. Several encounters enſued. At laſt the two armies engage, fortune at firſt inclining to Hidalcan, but Chriſnarao who had received great loſs, recovering his diſadvantage, attacked his enemy with ſuch fury, that not one eſcaped the ſword or ſlavery, excepting ſuch as the pity of the

the victors agreed to ſpare. The booty was prodigious. Chriſnarao, fierce with his victory, returned to the ſiege, when Chriſtopher de Figuereido with twenty Portugueze, coming to the king, aſked leave to view the place, which was granted. After conſidering it ſome time, he marched on with this little army to give the aſſault, and being ſeconded by Chriſnarao, the place was carried at the ſecond effort. Hidalcan was compelled to acknowledge the conqueror as ſupreme lord of Canara.

Ruy de Melo, who then commanded at Goa, taking advantage of the broils of the princes of the country, poſſeſſed himſelf of the neighbouring part of the continent.

Emanuel, in order to eſtabliſh his power for ever in the Indies, had given orders to the governor to build forts in Malucco, Sumatra, Maldivia, Chaul, and Diu. Lopez reſolved to begin with this laſt. To this effect he made an agreement with Malek Az, who eluded his promiſe with affected delays. Sequeira perceiving his intentions, ſet ſail for Cochin with deſign to make preparations to return, to gain by force what the artifice of the Moor with-held from him. After diſpatching the trading ſhips for Europe, he bent all his thoughts towards Diu. Wherefore he aſſembled the greateſt fleet that had ever appeared on thoſe ſeas belonging to the Portugueze nation. It conſiſted of forty-eight veſſels of all dimenſions and qualities, with three thouſand Portugueze, and eight hundred Malabars

Malabars and Canarans. Melique Az immediately conjecturing the end of this great armament, repaired to the king of Cambaya, in order to perſuade him againſt giving his leave to the Portugueze to build a fort in his iſland. But notwithſtanding he had fortified Diu in a wonderful manner, the Portugueze governor, determined by the advice of his council, deſiſted from his enterprize, and thus was this great power moſt lamentably diſappointed.

George de Albuquerque was ordered to ſet out for Sumatra. This iſland lying north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, is in length two hundred and twenty leagues, its greateſt breadth being no more than ſeventy. The equinoctial cuts it into two equal parts. It is divided from Malacca by a narrow channel, and by a frith ſtill narrower, its moſt ſouthern point is parted from Java, an iſland above one hundred leagues in length, and but twelve only in breadth. To the eaſt lies Borneo, alſo cut by the equinoctial, and that in ſuch manner as that two thirds of it lie on the north ſide of the line. Sumatra is a plain level country on the coaſts, the inland parts mountainous, watered by great rivers, and covered with vaſt hideous foreſts, ſo wrapt in fogs, that all the extraordinary power of the ſun in thoſe burning climates is not able to pierce them. For this reaſon it is very unhealthy, yet frequented for its riches, and above all, for its plenty of gold. Beſides a fountain of oil, and a flaming mountain like that of Ætna or Veſuvius, which may be conſidered

as

as extraordinary rarities: it produces white ſandal, benjamin, camphire, pepper, ginger, cinnamon, abundance of ſilk, fiſh in great quantities, and cattle of various kinds. The natives are idolaters. The Moors, who ſince the year fourteen hundred have poſſeſſed themſelves of it as lords and maſters, came in at firſt as ſimple merchants. Some of the inland inhabitants are ſaid to feed on human fleſh. The Moors poſſeſs the coaſts. Several languages prevail here, chiefly that of Malacca. Their weapons, like thoſe of the Javaneſe their progenitors, were at firſt poiſoned arrows, but they have ſince learnt the uſe of European arms. There are nine diſtinct kingdoms in this iſland, whereof that of Pedir was anciently the moſt powerful, but ſince that, the prince of Pacem has got the aſcendant. The kings are choſen by the people, and the ſame authority reſumes the ſupreme power as ſoon as the perſon intruſted with it is known to make an ill uſe of it, in which caſe the guilty prince is puniſhed with death. The Portugueze at this time protected one of thoſe princes thus expelled, and reſolved to have him reſtored by perſuaſion or force.

George Albuquerque arriving at this iſland, and being aſſiſted by the king of Ara a neighbouring prince, propoſed to the uſurper to quit his unjuſt poſſeſſion to the lawful prince, who had ſubmitted to the Portugueze. Genial, for ſo the uſurper was called, offered to make the ſame ſubmiſſion, provided he was permitted to enjoy

what he then poſſeſſed. This offer was not accepted; the caſtle of Genial was attacked and ſtormed: after a moſt reſolute defence, in which the uſurper was killed, the exiled prince was reſtored to his ancient dignity with great pomp; he ſubmitted to pay the tribute of Portugal; and a fort was afterwards erected as in the other ſettlements of that nation.

The following was one of thoſe diſaſters which the avarice of the Portugueze brought upon them. John de Borba, one of that nation, had been ſhipwrecked; and having been toſt for nine days on the waves, with nine of his companions, he was caſt upon the ſhore of Achem, where he was received and relieved by the humanity of the king. Soon after, George de Brito arriving with a Portugueze ſquadron, Borba comes to him, perſuading him to plunder the tombs of the kings, in which he ſaid vaſt ſtore of gold was depoſited. Brito conſented, and to give a colour of juſtice to the robbery, pretended that the king had ſeized the goods of ſome Portugueze. He accordingly lands with two hundred men, and ſeizes a fort which lay in his way. Some of the beſieged ſallying out upon the enemy, and others ſucceeding to relieve or reſcue them, they were ſo well received, that the affair became general, and Brito was forced to come to the aſſiſtance of his men, when appears the king at the head of a thouſand men, and with them ſix elephants. Brito with moſt of his men fell in this encounter, amongſt whom were fifty perſons

ſons of note. The few who remained fled to the ſhips.

Antonio de Brito, the brother of him lately killed, ſet ſail for the Molucco iſlands, ſituated under the equinoctial, about three hundred leagues eaſtward from Malacca. Theſe are incloſed within a multitude of other iſlands. Five are diſtinguiſhed above the others: theſe are Ternate, Tidore, Mouſel, Maquien, and Bachan; the largeſt not exceeding ſix leagues in circumference. All of them here named produce cloves, but nothing fit for human ſuſtenance. Batochina, on the contrary, yields proviſions in abundance, but no cloves. Some are remarkable for burning mountains, as Ternate. The principal nouriſhment of the inhabitants is a ſort of meal made of the bark of trees reſembling the palm, from which, as well as ſome others, they receive bread, wine, and vinegar. They are no great lovers of fleſh, tho' their iſlands afford plenty of it; and they more willingly feed upon fiſh, of which there is an incredible abundance. The people are warlike, averſe to ſtrangers, ſwift of foot, and excellent ſwimmers. It is not known whence they derive their origin, or from what parts theſe iſlands were peopled.

The Portugueze were jealous of a branch of trade which ſupplied all Europe, Aſia, and a great part of Afric with thoſe rich ſpiceries. Wherefore they were deſirous not only to exclude the Moors, but alſo the Venetians, from trading in thoſe commodities. At this time the Spaniards

began likewiſe to give them umbrage, by a clandeſtine trade carried on by way of America. For theſe cauſes Brito was ſent hither, and in particular to Ternate, in order to build a fort, which Boylefe, the king thereof, had of a long time earneſtly deſired. This had been before attempted to no effect. In the government of Albuquerque, Antonio de Abreu had arrived at Banda, the chief of five iſlands ſo called, which in beauty reſembles a terreſtrial paradiſe; its greateſt ornament being the plant which produces the clove, a fruit ſo much coveted in the Weſt and North. Hence Abreu returned to Malacca; Serram, a captain who had accompanied him, being driven by a ſtorm on Ternate, where he ſtaid waiting the deciſion of a diſpute between the kings of Tidore and Bachan, who contended which ſhould have the honour of having the fort of the Portugueze built in his own iſland. When Brito arrived at Ternate, he found king Boylefe dead, and the Spaniards entertained with open arms by the prince of Tidore. This prince thought himſelf happy in being able to rival the king of Ternate, who had been diſtinguiſhed beyond himſelf by the choice of the Portugueze. Thoſe Spaniards arrived in one of the ſhips which ſet out with the famous Magellan, the diſcoverer of the paſſage into the Pacific ocean thro the ſtraits diſtinguiſhed by his name. The prince of Ternate was then a minor under the government of the queen his mother, who had received Brito with great civility. The favour of this woman gained him a viſit from

from the prince of Tidore, who offered to deliver up the Spaniards, in hopes that Brito would in return for this condeſcenſion, agree to build the fort in his iſland. However, Ternate was found more convenient, and the prince who had ſo much coveted a Portugueze garriſon was diſappointed.

Lopez in another expedition added to the dominions of the Portugueze in the Eaſt. What occaſioned it was this. The king of Ormuz, being backward in payment of the tribute he had ſtipulated, alledged for his excuſe, that the king of Laſah refuſed to pay what he owed for the iſlands of Baharem and Catifa. His attempts to reduce him had no effect. Wherefore he applied to the governor, to this purpoſe, who conſented to aſſiſt him againſt his enemy. The king of Ormuz fitted out two hundred veſſels, with three thouſand Arabs and Perſians. The Portugueze power conſiſted of ſeven ſhips, and four hundred men, under Anthony Correa. Mocrim ſtood ready to receive them with three hundred Arabian horſe, four hundred Perſian archers, twenty Turkiſh muſqueteers, beſides natives, and upwards of eleven thouſand men armed with various weapons. He had moreover caſt up ſtrong entrenchments and other works, and the walls were mounted with a numerous ordnance, all under the care of tried commanders.

The Perſian gulph lies between Arabia and Perſia, from which laſt, as from the nobleſt, it takes its name. This famous tract begins at Cape

Jaſque or Carpela, in twenty-ſix degrees of northern latitude, and ends at the mouth of the Euphrates; the coaſt is diverſified with frequent cities, rivers, woods, foreſts, and iſlands. The proſpect of the oppoſite coaſt is not [illegible] lightful, there being but four towns in all that [illegible] which lies between Cape Mozandan or Aſſaborum, and the frontiers of Perſia. In this ſpace is a fiſhery for pearls. Over againſt Baharem, lies Catifa, an iſland thirty leagues in compaſs, and ſeven over, being one hundred and ten leagues diſtant from Ormuz. Its chief produce is tamarinds, tho' it yields all other fruits known in Europe. The capital bears the ſame name, there being three hundred villages in the iſland. The inhabitants are Moors and Arabs, the air unhealthy. The pearl found here, tho' in ſmall quantities, is more valued than that of Ceylon, or Hainan in China. Oppoſite to the iſland, on the continent, ſtands the city Laſah, whereof Mocrim, who made theſe preparations for the defence of Baharem, was king.

The troops of Ormuz under their own leader, were left as a reſerve, whilſt the Portugueze, to the number of one hundred and ſeventy, under Correa, his brother leading the van with fifty men, advanced in the water towards the ſhore. The trenches are aſſaulted, the fight grows hot, the king at the head of his men encouraging them; at laſt, being wounded in the thigh, whereof he afterwards died, his men begin to deſpair, and after much ſlaughter, betake themſelves

ſelves to flight, leaving the Portugueze a complete victory. Thus in two hours time, the iſland was ſubdued to the Portugueze crown.

Lopez, ſtill anxious to poſſeſs himſelf of Diu, ſent thither a ſquadron to block up that port. Yet the bravery of Melique Az, and the loſs of the brave Anthony Correa, who after conquering the king of Laſah, was blown up with his ſhip by ſome Moors he had taken priſoners, obliged him to deſiſt from this enterprize. From hence he ſet out for Chaul, where by leave from Nizamalûco, he erected a fort, which, notwithſtanding the efforts of Melique, who was afraid of the conſequences of this new ſettlement to the trade of Diu, was at laſt finiſhed to their wiſhes. This was the laſt enterprize of Diego Lopez de Sequeira in the Indies, whoſe government now expiring, he ſet out for Portugal.

CHAP. XVII.

Including the governments of Duarte de Menezes, Vaſquez de Gama, *and* Lope Vaz de Sampayo.

TO him ſucceeded Duarte de Menezes, in 1522. In the firſt year of whoſe government died Emanuel, the greateſt prince that ever ſwayed the Portugueze ſcepter. The conqueſt of all the maritime India, both within and without the Ganges, of the coaſt and iſlands in the Perſian gulph, of the ſhores and ports of the Red-ſea;

thoſe victorious fleets which covered the Ethiopian and Atlantic oceans; the ruin of the trade of the Venetians, whoſe grandeur and naval power the commerce of the Eaſt had ſupported for three hundred years before; the ſubjection of great part of the coaſt of Barbary; and the numerous defeats which he gave to the forces of the emperor of Morocco, are ſo many monuments which will convey the memory of this illuſtrious reign to the lateſt poſterity with inextinguiſhable glory. His ſon John the third now filled the throne, when Menezes came to take upon him the government of India, bringing with him a ſquadron of twelve ſhips. His firſt undertaking was the relief of Ormuz. The people of that city, in revenge of the avarice and inſolence of the Portugueze officers, had recourſe to arms. Theſe laſt, being veſted with the truſt of collecting the revenues which belonged to the king of Ormuz, abuſed their power; and adding luſt to covetouſneſs, had violated the daughters and wives of the inhabitants. In revenge of theſe injuries, they fell upon the Portugueze in the night, at Ormuz, Baharem, Maſcate, Curiate, and Soar, all at the ſame time. An hundred and twenty of that nation periſhed in this maſſacre. And now thoſe at Ormuz were reduced to great ſtraits, partly by the indefatigable efforts of the king, and partly by enemies ſtill more terrible, hunger and thirſt; when the king ſeeing the ſucceſs not anſwerable to his application, ſet fire to his capital, and went over to Queixoime, an iſland

fifteen

fifteen leagues in length, at three leagues diſtance, cloſe to the Perſian ſhore, and with him all the inhabitants. This beautiful city continued burning for four days, in which time it was reduced to a heap of aſhes. Don Luis, the brother of the governor, had been ſent to appeaſe theſe troubles; he burnt and plundered Soar, which he afterwards gave away to a prince who was to hold it of the crown of Portugal. Arriving at Queixome, he concluded a treaty with the young prince, his father having been aſſaſſinated by his own favourites, on the conditions of the former, the Portugueze promiſing not to interfere with the government of the city, to which that prince now agreed to return.

At this time, the territory of Goa, formerly conquered from Hidalcan, in ſpite of all the valour of the Portugueze, returned gradually to the obedience of its ancient maſter. The king of Achen, after abundance of bloodſhed, and waſting Sumatra with fire and ſword, compels the Portugueze to abandon their fort. The Chineſe alſo puniſh them ſeverely, for the enormities formerly committed by that nation in their country. The like diſaſters purſued them at Malacca; and the ſame ill fortune attended them in the Moluccos; all which threatened them with a ſeries of misfortunes, to which their former ſucceſſes ſerved only to make them the more ſenſible.

Vaſquez de Gama was now on the ſeas, with a commiſſion to govern in India. An accident which

which happened on his way, ſerves to ſhew the greatneſs of ſoul of thoſe who firſt diſcovered and ſettled this new ſource of commerce and navigation. In the middle of a profound calm, when not a breath of wind ruffled the ocean, all of a ſudden aroſe ſuch a violent motion in the water, that the ſhips toſſed and heaved in ſuch manner that all on board looked for death every moment. The viceroy, for it ſeems he bore that quality, knowing the cauſe of ſo extraordinary an appearance to be an earthquake, cried out to the ſhips in company, Courage my friends! theſe ſeas tremble for fear of you! the ocean acknowledges the conquerors of the Eaſt. It is ſaid, that ſuch as lay ſick of fevers were cured by the fright. The fleet arrived at Goa. After viſiting the forts, and ordering every thing with his uſual conduct and magnanimity, he died, three months after his arrival, full of great deſigns, which no man was better qualified to put in execution. The fort of Ceylon was abandoned at this time, as being not worth the charge of maintaining it. He named Lope Vaz de Sampayo to ſucceed him, till ſuch time as Henrique de Menezes ſhould arrive from Goa.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Henrique de Menezes *ſucceeds to the government of* India.

SAmpayo had been abundantly ſucceſsful againſt the enemies of Portugal, whether at land or on the ſeas, when Henrique came to take upon himſelf the chief command. The commander of the fort at Calicut was obliged to abandon the poſt he held. Mean time the new chief entered upon his government with great modeſty, without pomp, with great reſpect to the memory of his predeceſſor, and declining all proud titles, ſaying, that good men were more covetous to deſerve honour, than to make uſe of the pageantry which attends it.

Soon after he aſſembled at Cochin a great power, conſiſting of an hundred ſail, and two thouſand fighting men, to invade Panane, a city ſubject to the Zamorin. This place, which is one of the principal of his dominions, is ſeated on the banks of a river of the ſame name, was well fortified, ſtored with cannon, and the officer who commanded in it, a Portugueze renegado. A numerous fleet drawn up in line of battle in the entry of the river, ſtood ready to receive them. The fight begins, by ſea and land, with vaſt fury, the Portugueze enter their works, ſeize their cannon, the enemy flying to the woods. The town and ſhips in the port were given up to the flames. The ſlaughter was aſtoniſhing.

niſhing. The day following, twelve ſhips were burnt in the haven of Calicut. John de Lima carrying on the ſame havock in the ſuburbs of the city.

From hence they ſet ſail to Coulete, a city defended by fortifications as ſtrong as the former, the ſame number of ſhips and of ordnance, and a garriſon of twenty thouſand men. A council of war was held on this occaſion; the general opinion was againſt ſo dangerous an enterprize, but the advice of the governor prevailed, which was for making the attempt. The plan concerted, the troops diſpoſed, the engagement commences, both ſides contending with fury and obſtinacy; at laſt, the vaſt ſlaughter made by the Portugueze, obliges the enemy to fly. The booty conſiſted of three hundred and ſixty pieces of cannon, muſquets an infinite number, fifty-three ſhips, moſt of them laden with the moſt valuable ſpiceries. Thoſe which remained being beat to pieces by the fire of the great artillery, were conſumed in the flames, as was the conquered city.

And now the king of Calicut laid ſiege to that fortreſs, in which John de Lima with three thouſand men commanded. A body of twelve thouſand foot broke ground in order to form lines of circumvallation, and notwithſtanding the bold efforts of de Lima, brought their works to perfection. A train of great ordnance was planted, which threw balls two ſpans in diameter, while nine thouſand of the enemy advance to the aſſault. The cannon begins to thunder on both

ſides,

ſides, that of the Portugueze, which was more dexterouſly played, doing prodigious execution; but this was ſcarce perceived in an army almoſt without number. The beſieged ſend for ſuccours, part whereof with difficulty forced their way thro' all dangers, and part were obliged to return as they came, the garriſon ſuffering ſome loſs in their turn. The governor reſolved however to ſtand firm to the laſt.

The garriſon defended itſelf more thro' rage and deſpair, than by valour or conduct, when two ſquadrons appeared for their relief. Soon after the governor arrived with twenty ſail, and fifteen hundred men. He was followed by Anthony de Miranda, all the ſea of Calicut being now covered with ſhips.

The governor after reinforcing the garriſon, began next morning at day-break to land his men, who forced their way thro' crowds of the enemy that covered the ſhore, with ſhot, granados, and all ſorts of warlike weapons, the Portugueze captains ſignalizing themſelves on this occaſion. The enemy are put to flight with great ſlaughter. Henrique remained maſter of the field. Wherefore as the fort was of no importance, after ſhipping whatever was valuable, and mines being prepared to blow it up, the garriſon withdrew to the ſhips. The Moors finding the place clear of enemies, ran in cluſters to pillage, when the powder that inſtant taking fire, blew up into the air the whole fabrick, with all the multitude within it. This bold ſtroke was done to preſerve the reputation of his countrymen,

countrymen, and not from any intention in the governor to make any new conqueſt.

Henrique's thoughts turned chiefly upon the conqueſt of Diu, an acquiſition which the Portugueze had long beheld with wiſhing eyes. Hector de Silveyra, the other part of his inſtructions not being known, aſſaulted and took the ſtrong city Doſar on the coaſt of Arabia, and then entering the Red-ſea, he reduced and rendered tributary the iſlands of Maçua and Dalaca. After this Peter Maſcarenhas, George de Albuquerque, and Martin Alphonſo de Souſa, ſignalized themſelves in ſundry exploits againſt the enemies of their country, at Malacca, on the ocean, and in the country of the king of Linga.

At the Moluccos, Anthony de Brito deſiring that a ſucceſſor might be ſent him, Garcia Henriquez went thither. From Ternate, the two chiefs ſent out a ſmall veſſel on the diſcovery of the iſland of Celebes, famous for the quantity of gold it was ſaid to afford. The diſcoverer found the iſland, but was not ſo happy in the reſearch of the precious metal. Being carried out of his courſe as he returned, he unexpectedly fell in with a great and beautiful iſland, whoſe inhabitants lived in a happy ſimplicity of manners, and treated them with great affection. The colour of this nation was inclined to white, their perſons comely, ſtrong of body, they wore their beards and their hair long, their cloathing coarſe, and their food roots and fruits. They knew not the uſe of iron, or any other metal, only they gave to underſtand by

by ſigns, for their language could not be underſtood, that the mountain to which they pointed afforded gold. After eight months ſpent in theſe diſcoveries, they left the iſland of James Lopez de Sequeira, for ſo the diſcoverer was called, and returned to Ternate.

Henrique ſtill continued his preparations againſt Diu, giving out that his deſign was upon Aden, and acting in all things the part of a wiſe and prudent captain. He ſet out with ſeventeen ſail of large ſhips in order to clear thoſe ſeas of the pirates, which always abound here. Chale was burnt to the ground in this expedition; but the action which followed againſt a hundred ſmall veſſels loaden with ſpices, and defended by four thouſand Moors, was not equally fortunate; the governor being obliged to return, having left forty of his men dead upon the field. This loſs was followed by one ſtill greater, which was the death of Henrique de Menezes, one of the beſt of governors and the beſt of men.

CHAP. XIX.

Government of Lope Vaz de Sampayo.

LOPE Vaz de Sampayo ſucceeded to the government of the Indies. He reſolved firſt of all to take or deſtroy a fleet of the Zamorin's ſhips, which had taken ſhelter at Cananor. The charge was given with great courage, the Portugueze on ſhore entering the enemy's trenches with

with great ſlaughter, whilſt others fired above ſeventy of their veſſels in the harbour. Victory declared in favour of the Europeans: above eighty braſs cannon were taken in this action. The town was ſpared, becauſe it belonged to Narſinga the ally of the conquerors. He then reduced Calayat and Maſcate which had revolted, thro' the avarice of the governor who commanded that diſtrict.

Malacca was reduced to great diſtreſs by the king of Bintan, who took advantage of Pedro Maſcarenhas' abſence then on his way to Cochin, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of that capital. Maſcarenhas reſolved to attempt the chief city of the king of Bintan; wherefore after conſidering the ſtrength and ſituation of the place, and ſettling every thing in proper order for that purpoſe, he ſet out in the dead of the night, marching his men thro' a thick wood, in order to conceal his approach from the enemy. They reached the place before day-break, and immediately gave the aſſault, warlike inſtruments ſounding to terrify the enemy, who running to oppoſe a feigned attack, left Maſcarenhas room to enter the place. They continued however to defend themſelves with great reſolution, till the flight of the king being known, they gave way. The town was plundered, the booty ineſtimable, amongſt which were three hundred pieces of cannon. This action, which was one of the moſt glorious of all the Portugueze atchievemennts in Aſia, ſettled the quiet of Malacca, and brought immortal honour to Maſcarenhas. The iſland was now reſtored

to

to its lawful maſter, from whom the preſent enemy of the Portugueze had uſurped it.

Francis de Sa now prepared for his voyage to Sunda. This iſland is ſeparated from Java by a very narrow channel. Its produce, gold of a paler colour, beſides pepper and proviſions in vaſt abundance. The natives are numerous, and unwarlike, but curious in adorning their arms which they know ſo little how to uſe. They are worſhipers of idols, and ſell their children to ſupply their wants. The women are beautiful, and what is perhaps ſingular and peculiar to this iſland, thoſe of quality are diſtinguiſhed above the others for their chaſtity. They have convents for thoſe who chooſe a life of celibacy. The married women kill themſelves at the death of their huſbands, a cuſtom introduced to ſecure the men from any attempts of the women upon their lives, to which it ſeems they had formerly been much addicted. Notwithſtanding that the king had before offered of his own accord to aſſign the Portugueze a place for building a fort, and to pay a yearly tribute of three hundred and fifty quintals of pepper to purchaſe the friendſhip of the king of Portugal and his protection againſt the Moors, Francis however could bring nothing to bear, and thus returned without doing any thing.

Don Garcia Enriquez falling upon Tidore while the inhabitants were buſied in the funeral ceremonies of the dead, entered the capital, ſeized the cannon, and burnt the place to aſhes. His attempt to expel the Spaniards hence, failed.

Soon after was burnt Lobu, a ſea port of Sumatra, where Alvara de Brito and ſeventy men died by the hands of the inhabitants. After which followed the diſcovery of Borneo.

Charles the fifth had ſent a ſquadron into the Indies by the way of the Straits of Magellan. Arriving at Tidore they were received with great joy and kindneſs by the natives, who had been long weary of the avarice and harſh government of the Portugueze. They therefore erected works for the defence of the fort, to protect them from the inſults of that nation. The Spaniards pretended that the Moluccos were firſt diſcovered by Magellan, and that of conſequence thoſe iſlands muſt belong to them. The Portugueze made anſwer, that they had been diſcovered by Antonio de Abreu, ten years before Magellan ſet out upon his expedition, and that Magellan himſelf had been a witneſs to the truth of this diſcovery, having been along with Abreu before he had as yet deſerted the ſervice of his country. The diſpute was for ſome time confined to words, the people of Ternate ſiding with the Portugueze, and thoſe of Tidore and Gilolo with the Spaniards. At laſt the latter beſieged the Portugueze fortreſs in Ternate, and every thing depended on the event of war, when Charles, called off from thoſe remote attentions by his affairs in Europe, yielded his pretenſions to the Moluccos to the king of Portugal for a ſum of money.

George de Menezes diſcovered the iſland of Borneo, as he ſailed for the Moluccos. The ridiculous

diculous fears of the king was the only remarkable circumſtance attending this diſcovery. The barbarian prince, on beholding the figures worked in a piece of tapeſtry which Menezes had preſented him with, cried out in a panic, Take away thoſe enchanted men, they will kill me in the night. No reaſons were able to diſpel his fears; and he could not reſt, till he had firſt cauſed the occaſion of his apprehenſions to be removed, and together with it, the meſſengers who brought it. This gives us a very diſtinct idea of the ſtate of the arts in Borneo. The remaining part of the government of Lope Vaz Sampayo was filled with many conſiderable actions, in all of which the Portugueze were victorious, dealing ruin and deſtruction among their enemies, excepting only in the Moluccos where the Spaniards diſputed with them the poſſeſſion of the ſpice trade. Some cruelties likewiſe, committed by ſome of thoſe who commanded under Sampayo, increaſed the hatred of the Indian iſlanders againſt their Portugueze lords, and even their tyranny depopulated ſome cities, the natives preferring baniſhment and the loſs of their country to the cruel ſlavery they underwent at home. Notwithſtanding thoſe ſtains upon his government, and the unjuſt deſire of ruling, which was the right of another, Sampayo juſtly won the character of one of the greateſt commanders, and one whoſe exploits did infinite honour to his native country.

CHAP XX.

Nuno de Cuna *enters upon the Government of the* Indies.

NUNO de Cuna who ſucceeded Sampayo, after great and ſucceſsful actions on the coaſt of Africa, at Ormuz, and other places, as he paſſed to India, at laſt arrived at Goa, where he made preparations for the conqueſt of Diu, ſo long the object of the attention of the kings of Portugal. This place, of the laſt importance to the trade of the Eaſt, had been, as we have before taken notice, often attempted before, without ſucceſs. Wherefore the governor aſſembled a great power of ſhips; ſo great was his navy, that the Indian ocean ſeemed to carry a huge forreſt on his boſom. This fleet, including ſtore ſhips and ſmall craft, amounted to above four hundred veſſels, many of them ſhips of force. Three thouſand ſix hundred ſoldiers compoſed the land army, and one thouſand four hundred ſailors worked the ſhips, all of theſe Portugueze, beſides above two thouſand Malabars and Canarans, eight thouſand ſlaves fit for ſervice, and almoſt five thouſand mariners of the Indies. After reducing Gamam a Mooriſh fortreſs, he ſet forward with his army towards the iſland of Beth, a place ſo fortified by nature with vaſt rocks, beſides the addition of huge ramparts crowned with innumerable batteries of cannon, and defended by a garriſon of Turks, Arabs, and other

other nations, naturally haters of the Portugueze. When the governor came before it, he was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at its ſtrength of ſituation. He ſummoned it, when the Turks inſtead of ſurrendering, fell to ſhaving their heads, a ceremony by which they devote themſelves, and which they practiſe when they reſolve to conquer or die. The commander ſet them a brutal example of reſolution by throwing his wife, ſon, all his family, and valuable effects into a fire he had lighted for that purpoſe, intending by this to ſhew his purpoſe to follow whither every thing dear or valuable had gone before. The reſt followed this precedent, and the place wore already the appearance of a city under the moſt horrid and affecting miſeries of war. Nuno began the attack at day-break in ſix ſeveral places, each officer courageouſly carrying on the part which had been allotted him. The enemy received them with no leſs intrepidity, the one ſide contending for life and liberty, the other for glory and empire. The Portugueze ſuffered greatly in their approach, amongſt the dead was Hector de Silveyra, who had on ſo many occaſions ſignalized himſelf, and acquired everlaſting reputation. The following actions will ſerve to ſhew the ſpirit of thoſe undaunted and invincible combatants. A Portugueze drove his launce through the body of his foe, who regardleſs of his wound, and unmindful of the weapon which ſtuck between his ſinews, advanced along the ſpear which the other ſtill wrenched in his body,

and with his ſcymetar hewed off his limbs, when down dead he fell, both the champions expiring one over the other. Another Turk, ſtung with the thoughts of abandoning his women to the luſts of his enemies, a paſſion to which that nation is infinitely ſenſible, killed two of them, themſelves encouraging him to ſave them from the inſults of the conquerors; and as he was upon the point of plunging his dagger into the other two, for they were four in number, a bullet prevented him; the remaining lovers leaped from the rock on which this ſcene paſſed into the ocean, their greateſt apprehenſion being to be deprived of that fate which could alone preſerve them inviolate. Eighteen hundred of the enemy were ſlaughtered, and ſixty pieces of great artillery formed part of the booty.

After this ſucceſs de Cuna advanced to Diu, which was ſtruck with an univerſal panic, at the ſight of a fleet which hid the ſeas from their ſight. On the other hand, the Portugueze were filled with apprehenſions at the view of a city ſeated upon rocks which reared their ſummits into the ſkies, the ocean waſhing their feet like a vaſt ditch, and the entry of the river croſſed with maſſy chains, ſuſtained upon veſſels filled with an infinite number of muſqueteers and archers, within ten thouſand fighting men, and thoſe lofty walls mounted with great artillery without number. The tops of the houſes, walls and rocks, were covered with multitudes of perſons of both ſexes and of all ranks and ages, who rent the

he air with cries and ſhouts. The governor, after viewing thoſe formidable appearances, held a council, and gave orders for the aſſault.

On the ſixteenth of February, the ſignal being given, the artillery began to play upon the town. The thunder and roaring of the cannon, the clouds of ſmoke, and flame, and duſt, which poured from them, and from the ruined bulwarks and houſes, which were beat to pieces, froze the ſpectators with dread, and involved the ſea and the land. The Portugueze governor cloathed in red, ſtood in the moſt conſpicuous place, and while he flew to all parts where neceſſity called him, his quality being known, he became the mark at which all the ſhot of the enemy was aimed. At laſt the Portugueze cannon began to burſt with continual firing, and ſome of the men being killed without doing any conſiderable execution, after conſulting the principal leaders, it was reſolved to abandon the enterpriſe. The loſs of this place, was univerſally imputed to the previous attack of Beth. Some time after, the king of Cambaya, whether out of friendſhip for the Portugueze, or from an apprehenſion that it was better to grant them what one day or other they were reſolved, and would undoubtedly conquer, ſent an ambaſſador to the governor with offers to put the fortreſs of Diu into his hands. The governor did not heſitate to accept of it, and the command of it was given to Antonio de Silveyra.

Thus the Portugueze nation poſſeſſed themſelves of the moſt important poſts on the ſhores

of Afric, Arabia, Perſia, India, and China; with all the iſlands in the vaſt embraces of the Indian ocean, diſpoſing of kingdoms and ſcepters at their pleaſure, and acting like the lords and maſters of the world. Their other atchievements in the Eaſt are infinite, and carry me ſtrongly to lay them before the Engliſh reader; but the bounds preſcribed me by the nature of my undertaking, deny me the ſatisfaction of continuing a narration in itſelf ſo pleaſant, and ſo capable of amuſing thoſe who ſhall have leiſure and patience to peruſe what I have already committed to writing.

CHAP. XXI.

Detail of the Portugueze *Empire in the* Eaſt-Indies.

THE Portugueze empire in the Eaſt, in its flouriſhing ſtate, that is to ſay, from the time we have laſt treated of, for near a century after, extended from the ſouthern extremity of Afric at the Cape of Good Hope, as far as Cape Liampo or Ning Po in China, comprehending a tract of four thouſand leagues along the ſhores of thoſe vaſt continents, without including the ſea coaſts of the Red-ſea and the Perſian gulph which include twelve hundred leagues more, In this ſpace lies half Afric, and all Aſia, with innumerable iſlands adjoining to thoſe two grand diviſions of the terraqueous globe. Theſe four thouſand

thouſand leagues may be divided into ſeven portions.

The firſt, lying between the Cape of Good Hope, and the mouth of the Red-ſea, contains along the coaſt many kingdoms of the Cafres, as that vaſt one of Monomopata, whoſe prince is lord of all the gold mines in Afric; thoſe of Zofala, Mozambique, Quiloa, Pemba, Melinda, Pate, Brava, Magadoxa, and many other ſovereignties. On this coaſt, the Portugueze were poſſeſſed of the forts of Zofala and Mombaça, with the city and fortreſs of Mozambique.

The ſecond, between the Red-ſea and the Perſian gulph, contains the coaſt of Arabia, the moſt fruitful and populous part of this continent. The Portugueze ſettlement was the impregnable fortreſs of Maſcate.

The third diviſion, from Baſſora on the Perſian gulph to the Indus, contains the kingdom of Ormuz, in the iſland of Gerum, more famous for its trade than extent, thoſe of Guadel and Sinde, part of the kingdoms of Perſia and Cambaya. On this coaſt they held the fortreſs of Bandel and that of Diu, which ſtands at the entrance of the gulph of Cambaya, a place of great importance in the eaſtern commerce.

The fourth, from the Indus to Cape Comorin, contains India Proper, that is to ſay, part of the kingdoms of Cambaya, Decan, Canara, and Malabar, this laſt ſubject to ſeveral princes. The Portugueze forts on this coaſt were, Damam, Aſſarim, Danu, St. Gens, Agazaim, Maim, Manora, Trapor, Baçaim with the city Tana, Caranga,

ranga, the city Chaul with the oppoſite fortreſs Morro; Goa the ſeat of the empire of the Portugueze in the Eaſt, begirt with ſtrong walls, and defended by ſix huge caſtles which defend the iſland on which this city is ſeated. Beſides thoſe and other ſtrengths on the iſland, there were as you go along the coaſt of Malabar, the forts of Onor, Barcelor, Mangalor, Cananor, Cranganor, and Cochin a biſhop's ſee, Angamale alſo the ſeat of a biſhop, and the city and fortreſs of Coulam near Cape Comorin.

The next diviſion, the fifth in number, contains between Cape Comorin and the Ganges, the ſtates of Coromandel and Orixa, where the Portugueze held the forts of Negapatam and Meliapor, with the city of that name, a biſhopric now called St. Thomas, and Maſulapatam.

The ſixth from the Ganges to Cape Cincapura, contains the vaſt kingdoms of Bengala, Pegu, Tanazarim, with others of leſs note. Here they had the city of Malacca, the laſt of their poſſeſſions on the eaſtern continent.

The ſeventh diviſion between the Capes of Cincapura and Liampo, contains the kingdoms of Pam, Lugor, Siam, Cambadia, Triompa, Cochin China, and the vaſt extended empire of China. The Portugueze traded all along theſe coaſts, from the city of Macao, the ſole ſettlement they held on all that tract.

In Ceylon they had the city and fortreſs of Columbo, thoſe of Manar, Gale, and others, and alſo a fort in the iſland Timor, beyond Malacca. The number of their fortreſſes in all this tract

tract amounted to above fifty, with twenty towns and cities, beſides a great number of villages depending on the others.

The revenue of the cuſtoms of Diu brought to the crown of Portugal upwards of one hundred thouſand crowns; that of Goa, one hundred and ſixty thouſand; that of Malacca, ſeventy thouſand; the tributes paid by ſeveral ſtates and princes, brought two hundred thouſand; all which, with prizes and other profits uncertain, amounted to more than a million of the ſame ſpecies. It is thought that this revenue ſhould have yielded two millions, were it not for the embezzlements of the governors who were ſuppoſed to rob the king of half his right, as may be collected from the following computation of their profits.

The forts of Zofala and Mozambique were worth to their governors, two hundred thouſand ducats each; Mombaça, thirty thouſand; Maſcate, fifty thouſand; Bandel, twenty thouſand; Diu, ſixty thouſand; the fort at the mouth of that river, one thouſand; the paſs of Brancavara, one thouſand; Aſſarim, four thouſand; Danu, St. Gens, Agaçaim, Maim, ſix hundred each; Manora, fifteen hundred; Trapor, four hundred; Baçaim, thirty thouſand; Tana, four hundred; two forts upon that river, two thouſand; Chaul, eighty thouſand; Goa, twenty thouſand; the fort of Danguim, three thouſand; St. Blas, one thouſand; Agacaim, two thouſand; Bardes, ſix thouſand; Norea, fifteen hundred; Rachol, ſix hundred; Onor, twelve thouſand; Barcelor, thirty thouſand; Mangalor, twelve thouſand; Cananor,

Cananor, fifteen thouſand; Cranganor, ſix thouſand; Cohim, an hundred thouſand; Coulam, twelve thouſand; Negapatam, eight thouſand; Maſulapatam, eight thouſand; Meliapor or St. Thomas, twelve thouſand; Malacca, fifteen thouſand; Columbo, forty thouſand; Manar, twenty-four thouſand; Gale, ſixteen thouſand; Solor, ſixteen thouſand; beſides others of leſs value.

All theſe together were worth to their governors half a million yearly, the value computed for three years. There were other employments equally lucrative, ſuch as the ſeveral voyages. That from Goa to China and Japan, was worth to him who commanded, an hundred thouſand crowns; that from Coromandel to Malacca, twenty thouſand; that from Goa to Mozambique, twenty-four thouſand; that to Ceylon, four thouſand. This aroſe from the freight of goods only, the captain making as much more by way of trade.

The ſalary of the viceroy was eighteen thouſand crowns, beſides the diſpoſal of places, which were all ſold; but the chief object of their avarice was the profits ariſing from their private trade; for whereas the king got nothing out of India, ſome governors or viceroys have cleared, ſome three, ſome five, and ſome eight hundred thouſand ducats. All their officers had great ſalaries, beſides their lawful profits, and their more conſiderable frauds, their avarice knowing no bounds.

The

The following account of the Portugueze poſſeſſions in the Eaſt-Indies as they ſtand at this day, is extracted from an author, to whoſe labours I have been much obliged in this eſſay, and for which I ſhall have occaſion to make proper acknowledgments hereafter. The city of Goa is ſtill the capital, the ſeat of the viceroy, the archbiſhop, and the inquiſition, all of them, ſays that gentleman, heavy burthens on an eſtabliſhment ſo exhauſted. In the neighbourhood of it they ſtill preſerve the iſlands of Salſette, Bardes, Angedive, and ſome others of no further conſequence, than that they ſupply the city of Goa plentifully with proviſions.

Diu, a city which formerly belonged to the kingdom of Guzarat, is the ſtrongeſt place they are poſſeſſed of in the Eaſt, and is indeed extremely well ſituated for trade. It has the advantage of a very good port, where the Portugueze fleets were uſually laid up, while they poſſeſſed the dominion of the eaſtern ſeas. Here it was that the Moors and all other traders in the Indies were obliged to take their paſſports, before they were permitted to ſail any further towards the Eaſt. At preſent, there is little of its ancient traffic left, moſt part having been ſince tranſlated to Surat, and the ſmall commerce ſtill in the hands of the Portugueze is carried on under the protection of gentile colours, the former believing their effects ſafer with thoſe infidels, than under the flag of Portugal, formerly ſo much reſpected on thoſe ſeas.

The

The port of Daman on the gulph of Cambaya, is ſtill in a tolerable good condition, tho' nothing in compariſon of what it was, the old town being in a manner deſerted, and the new not near ſo populous, as a place of ſo great extent might be ſuppoſed to be. Notwithſtanding, there are ſome manufactures of ſilk carried on there, particularly ſilk ſtuffs, with which they furniſh the market of Goa, and thereby enable the merchants ſettled there to carry on what ſmall commerce they have left.

Chaoul ſtands behind the mountains on the ſame coaſt, and has a very ſafe and commodious port. Theſe are all the places which the Portugueze poſſeſs on the coaſt of Malabar; in other parts of the Indies they have few factories, and no eſtabliſhments at all, except in the iſlands of Timor and Solor, near the Moluccos, which they poſſeſs jointly with the Dutch. Once in two or three years they ſend a ſhip from Goa to theſe iſlands, the chief commodities whereof are, ſandal wood, much eſteemed in China, very good wax, ſtones of the iſland of Solor, a ſort of medicine, very little, if at all inferior to the beſt bezoar.

On the coaſt of China they have the iſland and port of Macao, from whence they carry on a conſiderable trade to that empire, and to the Philippines.

All that remains under the Portugueze dominion, from the Cape of Good Hope in Africa, to the city of Macao in China, is governed by a viceroy,

viceroy, with the title of captain general, who reſides at Goa, the Portugueze metropolis in the Indies. There are ſix, and ſometimes eight deſembargadores or judges, that attend the government in quality of council or a ſovereign court, who adminiſter juſtice in all cauſes, civil and criminal, having power over all miniſters. Before this court are brought all appeals from other parts of their Indian dominions. The viceroy preſides, and is ſeated under a canopy, as the other judges are upon benches. The council de facada, is like our court of exchequer, where one of thoſe judges ſits as preſident, repreſenting the viceroy, whoſe deputy he is. Thus the pomp and ſplendor of their government is ſtill kept up, notwithſtanding its extent is conſiderably leſſened, and its power and credit in ſome ſort entirely ſunk. Nor has the number of their governments been at all reduced, tho' they are now no way conſiderable, excepting for the rank they communicate to ſuch as enjoy them, who bear the title of generals. The general of Ormuz, for inſtance, has four ſhips under his command; the general of the north governs the ſmall towns on the Malabar coaſt; the general of Salſette ſuperintends that iſland, with a territory of about fifteen miles in extent; the general of China is governor of Macao, and the abſolute vaſſal of the Chineſe. There is beſides a general of the iſlands of Timor and Solor, who reſides in a fortreſs wretchedly fortified, and whoſe power is ſo inconſiderable, that even the Portugueze there

ſcarce

ſcarce pay him any manner of obedience. Add to theſe the general of Goa, whoſe function is, to take care of the channels between the iſlands, and to prevent clandeſtine or contraband trading. But the beſt of all their governments which belong to the Indies, is that of Mozambique, an iſland ſituated near the coaſt of Africa, in the latitude of fifteen degrees ſouth, within half a league of the continent. They have a ſtrong fort here, which commands the channel by means of ſeventy pieces of braſs cannon, and a ſtrong garriſon. The governor has the title of general of the river Senna, where his lieutenant reſides, and theſe employments have been reckoned to be worth to him ſeveral hundred thouſand crowns yearly. The merchandize brought to Mozambique in the ſhips of the company, are bought by the royal factory at a ſet price, and are afterwards ſent to Chelimani, the mouth of the river running three hundred miles along the coaſt, thro' which theſe goods are conveyed in galliots and ſmall veſſels, on account of the flats: from Chelimani they are ſent up the river againſt the ſtream, in ſmall boats, which are ten days in going up, and five generally in coming down. The blacks or Cafres, reſort to this port from kingdoms and provinces three or four months journey off, to buy goods, theſe they take upon truſt to pay in gold, which they perform the following year with the utmoſt punctuality. This trade yields cent. per cent. ſo that the Portugueze may be ſaid to have another India in Africa.

Fifteen

Fifteen days journey from hence lies Sofala, where the Portugueze have another eſtabliſhment, ſubject to that of Mozambique, and here a prodigious trade is carried on, whereof that nation either are, or might be maſters. It conſiſts chiefly in gold, whereof this country produces greater quantities than any other place in the univerſe, the annual produce of it being computed to amount to forty-ſix thouſand ounces, by the beſt judges. The Portugueze imports are Spaniſh and Canary wines in vaſt quantities, oil, ſilks, linens, cottons, coral, and other European goods, which are ſold to the inhabitants of the little kingdom of Sofala, who carry them thro' all the great empire of Monomotapa, by the Portugueze ſtiled the golden empire, from the prodigious great quantities of that ſo much coveted metal they draw from thence. Beſides this of gold, there are other valuable commodities which the negroes bring hither to ſell, ſuch as ebony, the moſt excellent in the world, ivory in great quantities, abundance of fine mats, much eſteemed in the Indies, and vaſt numbers of thoſe miſerable wretches condemned to ſlavery by human avarice, ſo that Goa, and all other Portugueze ſettlements are furniſhed from hence.

The Dutch attempted Mozambique in the year ſixteen hundred and five, without ſucceſs; and two years afterwards they attacked it a ſecond time, with no better fortune, except that they took a fleet of Portugueze ſhips richly laden, which paid the expence of the expedition. This

rich trade has however ſuffered conſiderably by the conqueſt the Arabs made of Mombaça, and other places, which gives them an opportunity of ſupplying the Africans with European commodities, which they purchaſe in different parts of the Indies.

With reſpect to that part of this trade which the Portugueze ſtill retain, the gold obtained thereby is ſent to Goa and Diu, where it is coined into ſmall pieces called St. Thomas's, which are not worth half a crown of our money. This coin is alſo ſaid to be of a baſer alloy than any other in the Indies; they are now become ſcarce, being coined in leſs quantities every year.

Theſe poſſeſſions are ſaid to produce little or nothing to the crown of Portugal, it having been debated more than once in the council of that prince, whether it were not more for the intereſt of the nation to abandon all their ſettlements in the Indies; and it has been alledged, that nothing but religious motives were the cauſe why that counſel was not followed, the prieſts remonſtrating, that by this haſty ſtep, multitudes of ſouls muſt be for ever loſt to the church. This deſign will be leſs apt to ſurprize us, when we reflect what has been affirmed upon very good authority, that one ſhip of a moderate burden would ſerve to carry on all the trade that at preſent ſubſiſts between Goa and Liſbon.

But a late regulation made at Goa, whereby the trade from that capital to Macao on the coaſt of China, and to Mozambique in Africa, ha

bee

been given up to an excluſive company, has, together with the rapine and avarice of the governors, given the laſt blow to the commerce of the Portugueze in the Eaſt. It is notwithſtanding paſt all controverſy, that the eſtabliſhments which that nation ſtill poſſeſs in the Indies, give them an opportunity to retrieve in a great meaſure their decayed power and wealth. The port of Diu is perhaps the moſt advantageous poſt for commerce of any in thoſe parts, which with proper application would ſoon rival Surat, and in all probability recover great part of the Arabian and Perſian trade, ſo long loſt to the Portugueze. Beſides, they have ſtill ſeveral factories on the dominions of the king of Biſnagar, and all along that coaſt, which would render it very eaſy to re-eſtabliſh their commerce in the heart of India, at the ſame time, that the port of Macao would furniſh them with the means of ſupplying the Chineſe market as cheap, if not cheaper than any other European nation whatever, their colony at Mozambique ſerving the ſame purpoſes, as that at the Cape of Good Hope does with reſpect to the Dutch, or St. Helena to the Engliſh. But all theſe advantages avail nothing to a nation, who not only want all the qualities requiſite to make a proper uſe of them, but on the contrary, are tainted with thoſe vices which muſt infallibly overturn the beſt eſtabliſhed ſettlements in the world.

THE HISTORY OF THE COMMERCE OF THE EAST-INDIES.

BOOK II.

History of the establishment of the Dutch *commerce in the* East-Indies.

THE rigour of the Spanish government, and terrors of the inquisition, occasioned the revolt of the Seven Provinces, and gave rise to a commonwealth, which by the suddeness of its growth, and its prodigious naval power, struck the

the world with aſtoniſhment. They had been for ſome time in poſſeſſion of the navigation of almoſt all Europe, and amongſt others, they were the carriers of all the rich commodities of the Indies, which they bought of the Portugueze, or carried on their account over all the northern kingdoms, when Philip the ſecond, becoming maſter of Portugal, interdicted them from this commerce. Liberty, the azylum from the cruelties of the Spaniards which their country afforded, and immunities from heavy impoſts upon trade, brought thither a multitude of merchants, filled the country with money, and in the different branches of trade which they carried on, bred up numbers of mariners, whoſe experience and boldneſs enabled them to carry into execution almoſt any ſort of naval undertaking, however difficult, with ſucceſs. Theſe merchants, who lived and ſubſiſted by traffic, bethought themſelves how to repair the loſs of this branch, and it was this ſuggeſted the ſcheme of carrying on a trade directly to the Eaſt-Indies.

The firſt attempt of this kind was to ſail into India by the north-eaſt: but this was not attended with ſucceſs, any more than thoſe endeavours ſince uſed to diſcover that paſſage. The merchants who had retired from the Spaniſh Low-Countries after the taking of Antwerp, underſtanding beſt the nature of this commerce, adviſed the taking into their ſervice thoſe mariners and pilots who had been bred up under Drake, Candiſh, and other famous Engliſh commanders who had ſignalized themſelves by noble and ha-

zardous adventures on the ocean. The informations of thoſe men, who had ſeen moſt, if not all the regions of the known world, gave them ſuch an advantageous idea of the immenſe profits of that commerce as diſpoſed them to undertake it. They ſucceeded in it in this manner.

A certain Dutchman, whoſe name was Cornelius Houtman, happening to be in Portugal, was very inquiſitive to know what courſe the Portugueze held in ſailing to the Indies, and whatever related to the trade, nature, or hiſtory of the country, a ſort of diſcourſe very natural to ſeafaring men. All ſuch enquiries were prohibited to foreigners by the government, and the Portugueze informed the court of the conduct of the Dutchman. Houtman was impriſoned, and ſentenced to pay a heavy fine for his releaſe. In theſe circumſtances he addreſſed himſelf to the merchants of Amſterdam, promiſing, if they would pay his ranſom, to put them in poſſeſſion of the ſecret of the route to the Indies, and whatever related to that rich trade. The merchants relieved Houtman, and he performed what he had undertaken.

Houtman's diſcoveries being taken into conſideration, the project was once more reſolved upon, and a company different from the laſt was erected, under the title of *The company for the trade of remote countries.* The former undertakers had determined on the route of the north-eaſt, on account of the ſhortneſs and ſafety of that paſſage, and alſo becauſe it was more healthy, as they thereby evited paſſing under the equinoctial.

But

But the uncertainty of that of the north-eaſt determined the new directors, to ſend the 1597
four ſhips intended for this expedition into the Indies, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. In two years theſe ſhips returned, tho' not with immenſe profit, yet with what was ſufficient to determine the owners and others to proſecute the deſign. The new adventurers uniting with the laſt company, eight ſhips were ſent out for India. Some merchants of Zealand ſet on foot a deſign of the ſame nature. Thoſe of Rotterdam, ſpurred forward by thoſe examples, formed alſo a company, and ſent their ſhips to the Indies thro' the ſtraits of Magellan, and acroſs the ſouthern or Pacific ocean. The merchants of Amſterdam fitted out a new fleet for the Indies without waiting the return of thoſe they had already ſent thither; and four of theſe laſt which had now arrived in Holland, were no ſooner unloaded, than they were ſent back on the ſame deſign.

Another company was formed at Amſterdam, and four of their ſhips, with as many of thoſe of the old company, ſailed together for the Eaſt, and all of them returned heavy with riches in two years after they ſet out. Before their arrival the new company had ſent two ſhips 1600
more, with which ſailed ſix belonging to the old company, all returning with ſucceſs to their reſpective ports. Thus you ſee with what vigour the Dutch carried on their firſt attempts in the India trade. Theſe ſucceſſes occaſioned more ſhips to be fitted out from Amſterdam, Zealand, and other places; from the firſt ſailed

thirteen ſhips, ſome of which were deſtined for the Moluccos.

The Spaniards, enraged that a few merchants, rebels to their ſtate, ſhould thus ſucceſsfully rob them of the moſt valuable branch of their commerce, fitted out a ſtrong ſquadron to chaſtiſe them. It conſiſted of thirty ſhips of war, and meeting the Dutch, ſet upon them with prodigious fury. The Dutch were not daunted at their inequality in numbers and force; they engaged the Spaniards with ſo much warmth and courage, that they were glad to let them paſs.

Next year three ſhips richly laden from the Indies, brought advice, that the king of Achen had attempted to ſeize two of the ſhips belonging to Holland, that the ſhips had got off, but that ſeveral of the men were made priſoners, and that Cornelius Houtman had been killed in the adventure. The ſame year, Peter Van Caerden on his way to the Indies, arriving in the port of Achen, ignorant of what had happened, was expoſed to the ſame danger. A franciſcan friar, who reſided there in quality of a Portugueze envoy, and who had for that end come from the Moluccos, ſpirited up the king againſt the Dutch captain and preſſed him to ſeize his ſhip. The attempt failed, and the king afterwards acknowledged that he had been ſeduced by the perſuaſion of the monk. Wherefore the next year's fleet was extremely well received, and the king having procured them a very rich lading, ſent ambaſſadors aboard for Holland. This fleet made prize of a Portugueze carrack. From hence we may

may date the commencement of hoſtilities between the Dutch and Portugueze, which laſt ſuffered for being then ſubjected to the crown of Spain: the Dutch for that reaſon treating them every where as enemies.

The Spaniards finding themſelves unequal to their enemies, had recourſe to ſtratagem, branding their rivals, as a nation void of faith and honour, beſides their being known pirates; and they cauſed their emiſſaries to ſound this report in the ears of all the princes in the Indies. In fine, they omitted nothing to effect their ruin.

The States General being informed of theſe proceedings, in order to convince the eaſtern nations of the injuſtice of thoſe calumnies, granted commiſſions to all ſhips trading to the Eaſt; by which commiſſions they were impowered not only to act upon the defenſive, but alſo to invade and exerciſe hoſtilities upon whoſoever ſhould in any way moleſt, or interrupt their commerce. James Heemſkirk, inveſted with theſe powers, ſet ſail from Bantam with two ſhips for Ichor, and falling in with a Portugueze or Spaniſh carrack, that is, a ſhip of prodigious burden, as ſhe was returning for Macao on the coaſt of China, with upwards of ſeven hundred men aboard, attacked her, and after a weak defence by the Portugueze, obliged them to ſtrike, and aſk quarter. This beginning ſeemed to foretell the decline of the Portugueze power, and ſhewed the difference between the officers now employed in their ſervice, and thoſe gallant chiefs, whoſe bravery and glorious actions had purchaſed to their

their country the empire of the Eaſt. The Dutch behaved with a modeſty and moderation very different from that pride and inſolence, which either their own ſucceſſes ſince have occaſioned, or which the envy of other European nations has unjuſtly condemned them for. So great was their humanity to their priſoners, and with ſo much honour did they behave in every thing that related to them, that the Spaniſh governors at Malacca, and in the Moluccos, gave them ample teſtimonials of their kindneſs and generoſity, a character the more undoubted as proceeding from their rivals and enemies. This good conduct contributed in a great meaſure to the ſucceſs of their deſigns, by wiping off the imputation of piracy, and gaining them the character of a humane and generous nation amongſt the eaſtern princes; an advantage by ſo much the greater, as the Portugueze were already of a long time hated for the weight and ſeverity of their yoke. Beſides, this ſucceſs was of very great importance in another reſpect: the immenſe riches of their prize giving them a far different idea of the wealth and conſequence of that traffic, in which they had but newly embarked, and encouraging thoſe who had not as yet any ſhare in the new trade, to engage in adventures attended with ſuch evident appearance of advantage.

The States General, at a loſs for ſupplies to carry on the war againſt Philip the ſecond of Spain, who continued his hoſtilities againſt them ſtill more by the vaſt treaſures he conſtantly drew from his American dominions than by his own

own proper force, with a view to cut off this ſource of power from their enemy, reſolved to infeſt the navigation of the Spaniards in the South ſeas. To which purpoſe, commiſſions were given to all ſuch private adventurers as were willing to contribute, or to go upon thoſe expeditions: this nation thus wiſely intereſting particulars in the defence and proſperity of the public, a conduct which more haraſſed and damaged the trade and power of Spain, than all the public endeavours of thoſe eſtates had ever done. Oliver Van Nort, an experienced and able ſeaman, had been ſent out by way of the ſtraits of Magellan, on an enterprize of this ſort, and returning by the route of the Eaſt-Indies, acquired the glory of being the firſt Hollander who had ever ſurrounded the world, beſides the reputation he gained againſt the enemy, and the wealth he brought home to his employers. The ſucceſs of the Dutch in all manner of naval expeditions, drew to Amſterdam a vaſt number of rich merchants, the moſt experienced and famous commanders from all parts of Europe, and had very great conſequences with reſpect to the advancement of their power in the Eaſt. Their naval enterprizes were thus attended with a conſtant ſunſhine, and the trade of the Indies flouriſhed in a ſurpriſing manner, when a piece of ill policy hitherto overlooked, or not much felt, threatened the new commerce with total ruin. Till this time all merchants ſeemed to have been free to enter into whatever aſſociations, and to form themſelves into companies, as they thought proper,

per, or moſt likely to be conducive to their particular intereſts. In the mean time, a multitude of companies were formed, which, as they were rivals in intereſt, were naturally enemies, and no ſort of harmony or good underſtanding ſubſiſted between them. Ships were fitted out by ſeveral ſocieties, whoſe deſtinations were for the ſame ports, and their cargoes conſiſting of aſſortments, glutted the markets with the ſame commodities, and diſcouraged all the adventurers by the loſs on the ſales, or the ſtagnation of their capitals. The States General ſeeing theſe evils, and taking into their conſideration the proper methods to prevent the threatened ruin of this favourite trade, onwhich they anchored their fondeſt hopes, and which was the moſt ſolid reſource of the ſtate, called together at the Hague the directors of all the different companies, and obliged them by the public authority, to join and reunite into one body corporate, all the different aſſociations formed for the carrying on the trade to the Eaſt-Indies. This treaty of union was then ſettled with the conſent and approbation of the States General, and a patent granted, the indulgences and privileges whereof were to continue for twenty-one years, confirming what had been done, and giving it the ſanction of the public authority.

Things being thus ſettled, the company advanced by rapid ſteps; numbers of the richeſt perſons in the ſtate added their ſtocks to its capital, which now amounted to ſix millions ſix hundred thouſand florins. They had now reaſon to entertain the vaſteſt hopes; wherefore a new fleet

fleet conſiſting of fourteen great ſhips put to ſea in the month of June, ſixteen hundred and two, under the command of a chief called Wybrant Van Warwyk. The year after brought them an account, that five of their ſhips were already upon their way homewards, together with the news of what had paſſed before at Bantam between the admirals of Spain and Holland. Don Andreas Tertado de Mendoza, the Spaniſh commander, had formed the deſign to drive the Dutch out of the Indies; wherefore coming to an engagement with the Dutch admirals, Harmanz and Bower, he was beat by the latter, who purſued their courſe to the Moluccos, where they arrived at different times. The ſame yatch brought the news of another engagement which happened at the Moluccos, with different ſucceſs. James Van Neck, engaging three Portugueze ſhips, was obliged to ſheer off with the loſs of ſeveral of his men, himſelf wounded: ſhe alſo informed them, that James Heemſkirk had taken a Portugueze carrack. Theſe proceedings being known, a new fleet was fitted out, conſiſting of thirteen ſhips, which ſet ſail the eighteenth of December, under the flag of Stephen Vander Hagen.

Theſe hoſtilities of the Dutch, and their growing power, ſtrengthened and augmented by the new commerce, provoked the king of Spain. Wherefore, in the year ſixteen hundred and five, he iſſued forth a declaration, by which he threatened the ſevereſt puniſhment to whoſoever of the United Provinces ſhould preſume on pretence of trade, or any other cauſe, to enter the dominions

of

of Spain, or ſail to the Eaſt or Weſt-Indies. This edict had not the intended effect, rather haſtening the downfal of the Portugueze power in the Eaſt. For the Dutch, inſtead of being daunted with thoſe threats, took freſh courage, and went on with indefatigable application and vigour, in purſuit of their deſign. Immediately was fitted out a fleet of eleven great ſhips, fit equally for the purpoſes of trade or of war. The commander was Cornelius Matelief. This fleet diſpatched, a ſecond of eight ſhips was with incredible diligence ſet upon the ſtocks. This ſquadron was manned with great numbers of hardy and experienced ſailors, and a body of infantry was ſhipped on board of it, who were engaged, if need were, to remain in garriſon in the Indies. Paul Van Caerden commanded this force.

Soon after two ſhips of the firſt of the preceding equipments, brought home a rich cargo of cloves and other ſpices. They brought advice that Vander Hagen was following them with great diſpatch. He accordingly arrived in the month of July. This admiral, beſides making prize of ſeveral Spaniſh and Portugueze ſhips, had reduced the fortreſs of Amboyna under the power of the republic, demoliſhed that at Tidore, and entirely expelled the two nations out of all their poſſeſſions and ſtrong holds in the Molucco iſlands. Hereupon enſued a hot diſpute between the republic and the king of England; the former accuſing the Engliſh of ſupplying the Spaniards with warlike ſtores.

In

In October following, three of the company's ſhips arrived in Europe with advice, that Wybrant Van Warwyk was upon his way home with a rich cargo, and a Spaniſh carrack he had taken at Patane. He came to an anchor in the ports of Holland in the ſpring of the year, ſixteen hundred and ſeven. The winter preceding two ſhips had been ſent into the Indies under the command of John Janſz Moldie, to whom authors aſcribe the conqueſt of the fort at Tidore.

A negociation was now ſet on foot in the Netherlands in order to a peace, whether with ſincerity or only to gain time. The Spaniards ſtarted a warm diſpute about the rights and pretenſions of both nations, to the trade and navigation in the Indies, and upon this point the principal conferences in this affair turned. The Spaniards were anſwered by the remonſtrances which the company had cauſed to be drawn up, and tranſmitted to the States General, and to the mediating powers, in order to determine the republic to a reſolution, which was at the ſame time the intereſt of the whole body of the ſtate; that was, that no condeſcenſions ſhould be made on that head. In order to convince at once the Spaniards, and all mankind, of their firm reſolution of never yielding any of thoſe advantages which their good fortune had given them in the eaſtern world, a new ſquadron conſiſting of thirteen ſhips was fitted out, under the command of Peter Willamſen Verhoven, who had already given the moſt ſignal proofs of his courage and abilities in the engagement

engagement at Gibraltar, where he acted as vice-admiral under the illuſtrious Heemſkirk.

In fine, neither party conſenting to recede from a point which both looked upon to be fundamental, it was found impoſſible to adjuſt it, and therefore the States of Holland, after fully adviſing the matter, made offer to the Spaniards of the following propoſal: that if the king of Spain refuſed to conſent to their poſſeſſing a ſhare in the trade to India, in the treaty of peace, he would agree to let them continue that traffic by a truce for a certain number of years; or elſe, in caſe neither of theſe expedients were agreed to, that all affairs beyond the tropic of Cancer ſhould remain upon the ſame bottom on which they then ſtood, and that both, or either party, were at liberty to continue hoſtilities beyond thoſe boundaries, or to do whatever they ſhould judge for their particular advantage. This laſt propoſition was the moſt acceptable to the Spaniſh court, a truce of twelve years duration was agreed to, and it was concluded upon certain conditions, that the Portugueze and Dutch ſhould continue to live in mutual peace, and to traffic wherever they thought proper.

This peace had been in agitation without ever coming to any fixed determination, till the year ſixteen hundred and eight. This year admiral Matelief arrived from the Indies, where he had beſieged Malacca, but had been obliged to break up from before it, in order to give battle to the Portugueze fleet, which had come to its relief.

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He had notwithſtanding concluded an alliance with the king of Johor. The year following, Hudſon, a very expert pilot and navigator, was ſent out upon an expedition which did not ſucceed; this was to attempt the north-eaſt or north-weſt paſſage to China from Europe. Next ſummer ſaw the arrival of four rich ſhips from India, which brought advice, that tho' Ternate ſtill owned the Spaniſh dominion, the forces of the republic had however overcome Machian, a prince of the Molucco iſlands, and that there was reaſon to hope the expulſion of the Spaniards from the former.

Advice was now diſpatched for the Indies, with conſent of the king of Spain and the archduke, to acquaint the people of both parties in thoſe remote climes, with the treaty and truce lately concluded and proclaimed at home. Towards the end of the year, Peter Borth conducted a ſquadron into the eaſtern ſeas, when the ſoldiers and ſeamen by a new indulgence were permitted to carry their wives and children along with them.

This was the truce by which the new republic of the United Provinces were firſt owned by the other powers of Europe, for a lawful and independent ſtate. The effects of this negociation was no leſs advantageous to them in the Eaſt, by lying aſleep once more the Spaniards and Portuguezе, who had begun to recover their ſpirits, and to defend themſelves with new vigour. Don Juan de Silva commanded for the king of Spain in the Philippines. Such were the courage and

conduct of this chief, that no advantages were to be gained whilſt he poſſeſſed the government. Receiving intelligence, that a Dutch ſquadron commanded by an admiral whoſe name was Willert, infeſted thoſe ſeas, where they had done conſiderable damage to the commerce, and were ſtill cruizing for the ſame purpoſe; he drew together ſuch veſſels as were neareſt, on which he embarked his own guards, in order to ſcour the coaſts of thoſe enemies. Coming up with the Hollanders, he engaged them with incredible fury, and took three of four ſhips which formed this fleet, their admiral having his head carried off by a cannon ſhot in the beginning of the fight, in which one hundred and twenty-five of his men were killed. This action happened on the twenty-fifth of April, ſixteen hundred and ten. The Spaniards taking advantage of this ſucceſs, purſued their blow, reduced the iſland of Tidore, and appeared before that of Ternate. The inhabitants of Banda, encouraged by theſe advantages, revolting from the Dutch, ſurpriſed their general Verhoſt, whom they put to the ſword with all that were with him.

Van Caerden was at this time in the Indian ſeas. This admiral believing that his preſence only was ſufficient to put a ſtop to thoſe growing evils, embarked himſelf aboard a ſmall veſſel with twenty-five men, and with this force he proceeded for Banda. A Spaniſh veſſel met him on his way: they engage, and the Dutch ſloop is taken, the admiral, who was unwilling to pay for his ranſom the iſland of Machian, and thirty

thouſand

thouſand ducats in money beſides, the terms the conquerors inſiſted on, being carried priſoner to the Philippines. The news of thoſe ill ſucceſſes was what occaſioned the Dutch company to ſend Borth with his ſquadron into the Eaſt.

Amongſt other projects for the advancing an eſtabliſhment which had ſo univerſal a paſſion as gain for its object, they came to a reſolution, to try whether they could not obtain ſome ſhare in the trade to Japan. This undertaking had the ſucceſs they expected from it, their ambaſſadors or envoys, Spex and Segerſon, obtaining all the advantages they ſought for of the emperor, who admitted them to an audience on the tenth of Auguſt, ſixteen hundred and eleven. The Spaniards and Portugueze threw all poſſible obſtacles in the way, but to no effect.

Amidſt this proſperity a new evil aroſe at home. This was the practice of ſtock-jobbing, a miſchief then but new, and which was in its infancy attended with ſome of thoſe monſtrous ill conſequences which other nations have ſince felt from it. The States, ever vigilant for the ſucceſs and advancement of trade, and particularly this favourite branch, ſet themſelves to remedy this public grievance, which was accordingly remedied by a placard of the twenty-ſeventh of February, ſixteen hundred and ten. The May following four ſhips proceeded for the Indies; theſe were followed by a ſtrong ſquadron, which ſailed from the Texel in December, under the command of Adrian Block Martz. When they were come as far as the Cape de Verde iſlands, a

ſquadron of ſeventeen Spaniſh ſhips of war came down upon them. A bloody and obſtinate engagement enſued, both ſides contending for honour and victory, till their ſhips were torn in a terrible manner, and almoſt ſhattered to pieces. The Spaniards were worſted, there being no more than four of their ſhips in a condition to make ſail when the battle ended. The Dutch no ſooner heard this news than they diſpatched two ſhips more after them with materials for repairing the damage they might have ſuſtained. Thus the power of the Dutch company arrived at that height, that in the ſpace of two years (1613 and 1614) twenty-ſeven ſhips were fitted out on different occaſions. This ſucceſs will ſtill more evidently appear from the dividends made for eight years conſecutive on their eſtabliſhment. In the year ſixteen hundred and five, was paid to the proprietors a dividend of fifteen per cent. The following year they received ſeventy-five per cent. a prodigious profit. The year after forty per cent. Next year produced twenty per cent. profit. The ſummer next enſuing, twenty-five. And the autumn ſucceeding that, they had a profit amounting to fifty in the hundred. In the month of May which followed two years after, the profits divided to thoſe who had ſtock in the company, amounted to thirty-ſeven for every hundred ſo employed.

This flouriſhing condition of the company occaſioned the equipping of a ſtrong ſquadron in the year ſixteen hundred and fifteen. It was intended to cruize upon the Spaniards in the South-

ſeas,

ſeas, after paſſing the ſtraits of Magellan, from whence they might have an eaſy paſſage to the Indies, where they were unexpectedly to fall upon the Spaniards in thoſe parts. Mean time the war went on in the Indies, the Spaniards exerting themſelves to preſerve and extend their conqueſts in the Moluccos, a matter of ſo much greater conſequence to that nation, becauſe of their near ſituation to their empire in the Weſt, from which it was eaſy to form and preſerve a communication.

John de Silva, the Spaniſh commander, lay under great difficulties, by reaſon of the continual quarrels between the Spaniards and the Portugueze, on which account the latter were extremely backward in ſending the neceſſary ſuccours to that leader. Verhagen the Dutch admiral, being informed of the ſituation of the Spaniards, reſolved to lay hold of this opportunity to harraſs them. Wherefore, gathering together a conſiderable force, he ſet out for the coaſts of Malacca, where he intended to wait the Portugueze galleons that were coming to the aſſiſtance of Silva. At length the ſuccours appear, with a conſiderable body of troops on board, which however did not divert the Dutchman from his purpoſe. He attacked them with intrepidity, ſunk the largeſt with all on board her, took the ſecond, and drove the others aſhore, with very little loſs to the conquerors. A rich fleet of four ſhips, whoſe cargoes conſiſted chiefly in ſpices, to the value of three millions of ducats, brought the news of this victory to Holland. They arrived in the autumn of the

year ſixteen hundred and ſixteen, ſoon after which the company were informed, that the prince of Ternate, with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh ſettled on his iſland, had driven the Spaniards out of all their poſſeſſions in the Moluccos; and thus that nation entirely loſt the ſpice trade, for which they had long and ſtrenuouſly ſtruggled with the Portugueze.

The year preceding this, Iſaac de Maire, with ſome other merchants, aſſociated themſelves, in order fraudently to interfere with the trade of the company, and ſhare in its profits. For this purpoſe they fitted out two ſhips under the command of Cornelius William Schouten, and James le Maire, who proceeding for the South-ſeas found out a new paſſage into the Pacific ocean, which paſſage from the diſcoverer obtained the name of the ſtraits of Le Maire. From hence croſſing the ſouthern ocean, they ſailed as far as the Moluccos, from thence they proceeded to Batavia, where their ſhips were ſtopped and ſequeſtered on account of their infringing the privileges contained in the company's patent. The company ſuffered conſiderably at this time, from the frauds of thoſe who retailed the ſpices they had imported, the ſhopkeepers mixing certain powders with thoſe commodities, whereby they came to loſe their character. The States informed of this abuſe by the company, iſſued a placard, by which theſe embezzlements were forbid for the future.

In the year ſixteen hundred and ſeventeen George Van Spilbergen returned, after having ſaile

ſailed round the world, which navigation he performed in the ſpace of two years. Schouten and Le Maire, who had ſet out in the ſame year with himſelf, embarked aboard his ſhip for Holland. The latter did not live to ſee his own country, for he died in his paſſage.

This year a placard was publiſhed, prohibiting ſeamen from going into the ſervice of other ſtates or princes, to which they had been allured by promiſes of great encouragement and indulgence, out of envy or emulation of the Dutch company's fortunate ſucceſſes. Ten ſhips with very rich cargoes, valued at ſix or ſeven millions, arriving from the Indies in the years ſixteen hundred eighteen and nineteen, added to the proſperity of this body of traders. This addition to their wealth encouraged them to defend their acquiſitions, and to annoy their enemies by making repriſals. The diligence and love of Laurence Real to his country, a perſon of great knowledge in the affairs of his profeſſion, and withal of great prudence, contributed in a great meaſure to the advancement of their affairs. He ſerved the company for nine years in the Indies, where he had been honoured with the ſupreme command. He returned to Holland in the year ſixteen hundred and twenty.

The company, ſenſible of the vaſt increaſe of their power, which began to render them independent of their old allies, thought of nothing now but how they might beſt promote their own advantage, let who will ſuffer by the attempt. This determined them to engage in the war of Java,

where they were oppoſed by the Engliſh, as well as by the natives of the country. This war being carried on with great obſtinacy, notwithſtanding the loſſes they ſuffered in it, had at laſt a favourable iſſue; they overcame both their enemies, reduced the iſland of Jacatra, and ſettled the colony of Batavia, the ſeat of the Dutch power, and the capital of their empire in the Indies. The States General contributed to this important ſettlement with all their power, an advantage which the Engliſh company at that time wanted, whether from the nature of their government, ſo much inclined to monarchy and the leſs important concerns of a court ignorant of the advantages of this trade, or to their want of power at that time to give the merchants the protection they wanted in ſo precious a conjuncture. It is from this ſettlement, that writers date the riſe of that aſtoniſhing power and influence that nation at this day enjoys in the Eaſt, and which has rendered their Eaſt-India company the envy and wonder of the world, this body being in point of wealth, power, and dominion, equal to the greateſt ſtates.

From this time the company enjoyed a ſort of ſovereign power in the Indies, making treaties and alliances with the princes around. They gave commiſſions inveſting their officers with the rank, and powers, and authority of generals, governours, commanders in chief, with appointments ſufficient for maintaining the grandeur and dignity of thoſe places. And tho' the States General were ſenſible that thoſe independent

powers

powers were ſcarce compatible with the ſyſtem of the Dutch conſtitution, they notwithſtanding overlooked this inconvenience, becauſe they believed this ſhew of magnificence and authority was uſeful to preſerve the reſpect and obedience of the people of the Eaſt, who were ever accuſtomed to ſuch pageantry. Beſides, the republicans in Holland were pleaſed to behold a new commonwealth ariſing in the Indies, where the Orange family had no power or influence as in Europe. And tho' they magnified the houſe of Orange to the Indian princes, whom they perſuaded that this was one of the moſt auguſt royal families in all Europe, a conduct ariſing from policy only, yet the directors of the company continued to adminiſter its affairs in a manner almoſt independent of the government of the States General. Beſides the factions which at that time prevailed in Holland, occupying the cares of the government, prevented them from examining any unconſtitutional proceedings in the Indies; and the vaſt flow of wealth which this trade brought into the nation, and extended its power ſo much, made it to be eſteemed a very impolitic ſtep to endeavour at leſſening the intereſt or credit of a company, whoſe trade was ſo beneficial to the whole community. And further, both parties were in hopes of profiting by the acknowledgements of the company for ſuch indulgences as might be ſhewn to them by their means, at the renewal of their charter, the term of which was now upon the point of expiring, tho' this was perhaps the propereſt if not the only juncture,

wherein the remedy of any overlooked abuſes was practicable. The company therefore profiting by the contention of the factions, inſtead of diminiſhing or loſing any of her privileges or powers, obtained a new charter, in which all her former advantages were augmented, and new privileges added to thoſe ſhe already enjoyed.

The vaſt ſucceſs which had almoſt in an uninterrupted manner attended this company, ſo raiſed their credit that a new eſtabliſhment was projected, wherein the body ſo incorporated ſhould have the ſole privilege of trading to the Weſt, as the other company had to the Eaſt-Indies. The oppoſition of the company of the Eaſt, was the cauſe why this ſcheme did not advance with all the rapidity which might have been expected from ſo juſt a foundation, and ſeveral alterations and amendments were made in their charter, before their capital was entirely ſubſcribed for. This conſiſted of a fund amounting to ſeven millions two hundred thouſand florins. The States, to encourage the new undertaking, gave them three large ſhips, equally fit for the purpoſes of trade or of war.

Whilſt the republic was thus foſtering the infancy of her younger offspring, the elder was making prodigious advances. Such preparations and equipments were made for the eaſtern trade, that the company ſeemed rather to meditate the conqueſt of Aſia, inſtead of ſecuring a conſiderable part of her traffic; and the proceedings of the States, who interpoſed their authority in order to keep the ambition of the company within bounds,

bounds, was very diſpleaſing to thoſe who had projected vaſt undertakings: however, the wiſer councils prevailed. The abuſes and male-practices in the ſale of the company's actions or ſtocks begining to revive, the placard of ſixteen hundred and ten was renewed with ſome amendments ſuitable to the preſent exigency, whereby thoſe evils were deſtroyed.

The year following arrived in Zealand the ſhip Goede Vreede, with five youths on board, the children of kings or princes of the Eaſt, who came into Holland in order to be educated in the knowledge of the ſciences and the principles of chriſtianity. Next year two more ſhips arriving, brought advice that the eaſtern commerce ſtill continued to flouriſh, and that the war of Bantam was ſtill alive, as well as that with the Spaniards in the Molucco and Manila iſlands. The company had now poſſeſſed themſelves of the iſland of Banda. Three ſhips arriving after thoſe, brought advice that the ſquadron laſt ſent out had arrived ſafe in the Indies after a voyage of four months and three days. And now the company's patent expiring, there aroſe very great differences between the directors and the ſubſcribers or proprietors, which, if the prudence of the States who interpoſed as mediators had not quieted all, might have had conſequenees very fatal to this traffic. The directors were ordered to produce their accounts, and the ſubſcribers received by the public authority a dividend of twenty-five per cent. in cloves, according to reaſon and equity. The company had their patent

renewed at this time, which was to continue in force for the term of twenty-one years, commencing from ſixteen hundred and twenty-three. In the month of October arrived four ſhips with a cargo immenſely rich. The difference which had long ſubſiſted between the republic and the Engliſh was now terminated and taken away, the former paying the latter the ſum of eight hundred thouſand livres or florins.

Notwithſtanding the vaſt advantages which reſulted from the Eaſt-India trade to the Dutch nation, there were not wanting envious perſons who thwarted their meaſures with abundance of zeal. Wherefore in order to put a ſtop to the evils which this ſpirit of oppoſition had already, or for the future might occaſion, the States General added ſeveral clauſes to their new patent, relating to the diſcovery of the paſſage into the South-ſeas by the ſtraits of Le Maire. And that they might deſtroy all obſtacles in the way of this enriching commerce, a ſtrong ſquadron was ordered to be got ready at the charge of the commonwealth, which, in conjunction with the forces of the company, was to act againſt their common enemies in the Eaſt. Before this ſquadron was in a condition to put to ſea, three ſhips were diſpatched by the way of the Cape of Good Hope for the Indies on account of the commerce: the former followed for the ſame parts by way of the ſtraits which open into the Pacific ocean. In May following two ſhips arrived with a cargo, which met with a proſperous ſale. The evils relating to the ſale of actions

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began to appear a third time, and a placard was iſſued accordingly, the common medicine for this malady.

In the following September four ſhipsarrived under the command of John Peter Coen, and in the month of November a fifth followed which had loſt them in the paſſage, all of them loaded for the company's account. The ſpirit of monopolizing began at this time to exert itſelf in the ſales of the company, a few merchants buying up all the pepper in the company's warehouſes, a quantity amounting to nineteen thouſand bales, which coſt them the ſum of four mililons five hundred thouſand livres or florins, a very extraordinary purchaſe.

The tranſactions in India at this time were theſe. The Engliſh began to act againſt the Dutch in thoſe parts, and in conſequence hereof had made ſome commotions in Amboyna. And the Dutch ſtill continuing their hoſtilities againſt their ancient enemies the Spaniards, endeavoured by all poſſible means to hinder their trade to China, with great hopes of ſucceſs. September following three ſhips arrived; and in May thereafter the ſhip called the Heuſden, from Surat, brought the agreeable news, that the affairs of the company wore a very favourable aſpect at Ormuz, and in the countries thereabouts. Three ſhips arrived the following ſpring from thoſe parts, which proſperities were ſomewhat allayed by the loſs of the Schoonhoven, which was ſhipwrecked in a violent ſtorm that overtook her in her paſſage to the Indies.

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In the month of February, ſixteen hundred twenty-ſix, four ſhips arrived, two from Surat, and the remaining two from Perſia, with an ambaſſador on board, ſent by that monarch. By theſe ſhips the States General and the company were informed of the victory obtained over the Portugueze, and of the troubles in Surat, where the prince had taken up arms againſt his father, and that both armies were actually in the field at their departure. The company, in conſequence of this intelligence, ordered a ſquadron for the Indies conſiſting of nine ſhips, under the command of that Wybrandt, ſo renowned for his bravery in the action at Sierra Leon with the pirate Campaen. In the month of June arrived three ſhips, two whereof were of the ſquadron of James l'Hermite, the other came from the coaſt of Coromandel. The famous navigator William Iſbrantz Bontekoe, arrived in this ſquadron.

Thus the company was ever fortunate in her beginnings, and the ſame proſperity attended her in her advances to that power which has rendered this body ſo reſpectable throughout all Europe, and in the Indies. Their profits increaſing with the progreſs of their arms, the number of their ſhips and forces were conſtantly enlarged, and John Peter Coen, of whoſe prudence they had already received ſo many proofs, was ſollicited to go a ſecond time in quality of governor general into the Indies; he at laſt conſented, and ſet out for his government in April, ſixteen hundred and twenty-ſeven. About this time the Rotterdam,

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followed by four other ſhips under the command of John William Verſchoer the admiral, arrived in the ports of Holland. Theſe had ſet out under the conduct of l'Hermite. The India warehouſes were filled with the immenſe quantity of rich commodities of the growth and manufacture of Aſia which this fleet brought home. Adrian Block Martzen was now ordered to ſea, with a ſquadron of eleven ſhips under his care; he was now, as well as admiral and governor Coen, on his ſecond voyage into thoſe diſtant regions of the world. They ſet ſail in the month of October. Their paſſage was very unfortunate, for two of the ſhips of this ſquadron were loſt in a violent ſtorm, tho' the ſhips companies and their cargoes were both ſaved. John Karſtenſz, a merchant of Embden, returned into Holland. This man was juſtly celebrated for his wiſe and prudent adminiſtration in quality of governor in the Indies, which rank he had poſſeſſed for ſeveral years. The arrival of this gentleman was attended with that of three rich ſhips he brought home with him. He had been ſome time at Portſmouth, where he had been neceſſitated to put in, when an embargo was laid upon his ſhips. In June, ſixteen hundred twenty-eight, five more ſhips arrived in the Low Countries under the command of the ſieur Carpentier, a perſon who had been dignified by the company's choice of him to act as general in the Indies. The cargoes of both theſe ſquadrons were prodigiouſly rich.

Amidſt all theſe proſperities the affairs of the company met with ſeveral bad accidents, which

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it was impoſſible for them to foreſee. Their ſhips were not only detained by the Engliſh as often as they fell into their hands, but there were other enemies equally troubleſome, that lay in wait for them; theſe were the privateers of Dunkirk. Theſe evils made it neceſſary to fit out a force to protect their commerce in Europe; wherefore a ſtrong ſquadron under the command of John Dierkſz Lam, who had formerly ſerved in the Indies, was ſent out, with orders to ſcour the German ocean of all enemies, and upon his approach the Dunkirk privateers withdrew into their port. The ſtopping of the ſhips under the command of Karſtenſz of Embden, had ſunk the hopes of the company not a little, but upon their being diſmiſſed, their courage reviving, things went on with their wonted alacrity. Soon after this another ſtrong ſquadron was diſpatched into the Eaſt. This armament conſiſted of eleven ſhips; they ſet out in October under the command of admiral James Spex, and aboard of it went John Valbeck, a man famous for his profound knowledge in the mathematical ſciences.

The following news gave the company no ſmall mortification. The Viana which brought thoſe accounts, told, that having ſailed from the company's ſettlement at Batavia in the month of January preceding, with hopes of being able to paſs the ſtraits of Baly in good time, they had failed of their expectations, and being overtaken by the ſtormy ſeaſon, they had run aſhore on the ſouth part of the coaſt of Terra Magellanica Incognita, and had been obliged to provide for their

their ſafety and that of the ſhip, by throwing overboard a prodigious quantity of their richeſt effects, by which means the ſhip got off with infinite difficulty and danger: that they had met with the ſquadron under the command of Adrian Block Martzen, which had alſo ſuffered by the violence of the weather: and finally, that the inhabitants of the iſland of Java, whether by their own averſion to the Dutch, or the inſtigation of other enemies, or both together, had conſpired againſt the life of John Peter Coen, the plot being diſcovered by the friendſhip of a Chineſe boy, whereby that execrable deſign was fruſtrated.

The Dutch officers about this time made ſeveral conſiderable additions to the diſcoveries of their rivals and predeceſſors the Spaniards and Portugueze. The vaſt extended country of Carpentaria, ſince better known by the name of New Holland, was firſt found in the year ſixteen hundred and twenty-eight: as alſo the weſtern part of the ſame land, which lies oppoſite to the ſouthern ſhore of the iſland of Java, was diſcovered by the ſquadron of Dewit, who had the honour to give his name to that tract, once known by the name of Dewit's land. The ſouthern coaſts of the ſame continent which lies upon that ſea which ſeparates this region from the lands which extend under the Antartic or ſouth pole, were diſcovered in the month of January of the preceding year by Peter de Nuyts. This fine country, which navigators magnify as one of the happieſt tracts on the face of the ter-

raqueous globe, contributed to eternize the memory of this diſcoverer, whoſe name it bears, and poſſibly ever will bear in our hemiſphere at leaſt. By theſe diſcoveries the Dutch Eaſt-India company acquired the title ſhe claims to thoſe immenſe and diſtant tracts.

Near this time arrived general Carpenter with the news of all theſe important diſcoveries, and with him five ſhips immenſely rich. Theſe accounts moved the directors to give orders for equipping a ſquadron of eleven ſail, which were to ſet out for thoſe parts under the conduct of Francis Pelſart, a man of ſufficient abilities for ſuch a command. It is ſomewhat obſervable that amidſt all this wonderful progreſs of the company in the acquiſition of the commerce of the eaſtern world, the nation was torn with civil diſſentions, the prince of Orange endeavouring to render his family maſter of the republic, while the friends of liberty and a more equal form of government, oppoſed him with all their power. But as the affairs of the company were governed entirely by their own councils, independent of the States General, who never interpoſed but to remedy ſuch abuſes as had begun to appear, or by their mediation to calm the minds of the public when offended with their proceedings, their intereſts met with no inconvenience from thoſe calamities which embroiled the ſtate, and amidſt all thoſe public diſaſters went on to advance their own intereſt, together with that of the nation.

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The following year (1629) was attended with the ſame proſperity as the preceding. Six ſhips arrived at this time with rich cargoes, under three ſeveral commanders. In the Eaſt the king of Maratam, after employing foul and fair meaſures to reduce the power of the Dutch, had laid ſiege to Batavia, and had been obliged to break up from before it, after a ſiege of three months continuance, with the loſs of ſixteen thouſand men. Next year arrived Peter Vanden Broecke, after a long reſidence in India. This perſon was the firſt Dutchman who opened the trade of his country to the ports of the Red-ſea, and the countries contiguous to that gulph. The cargoes of ſeven ſhips which came home with this chief, were ſaid to amount to eight millions. His paſſage, however, was very far from being fortunate; for of eight veſſels, which had ſet ſail from India under his command, no more than ſix arrived with him, one of them being deſtroyed by fire near the Azores or Weſtern iſlands, and the other having loſt the fleet, had been driven out of her courſe, and at laſt arrived ſafe, after having made the circuit of the coaſts of Ireland. This admiral informed the directors of the ſudden death of general Coen, who had been carried off two days before the arrival of general Spex, who acted as governor till ſuch time as the company ſhould ſignify their pleaſure with reſpect to that command. Laſtly, Anthony Van Diemen brought home with him ſeven ſhips in the year ſixteen hundred and thirty-one, whoſe cargoes amounted to incredible ſums.

The ſweets of the profits flowing from a trade which had ever ſince its commencement been attended with ſuch ſignal ſucceſſes, made the company reſolve to extend their power and influence in the Eaſt, by every poſſible method. They were far from being delicate in the choice of the means and expedients, a ſcruple ſeldom found to obſtruct projects where gain is the motive, ſometimes uſing force, ſometimes perſuaſion, to advance their ends. In conſequence of theſe ſentiments, in the year ſixteen hundred and forty-one, they ordered their forces in the Eaſt to attack the city of Malacca, the ſtrongeſt, and one of the moſt important places the Portugueze nation poſſeſſed in the Indies. This city, beſides that it ſecured the commerce carried on by that nation to the kingdoms of Johore, Siam, and Pegu, was alſo of the laſt conſequence by the advantages it afforded its poſſeſſors, in relation to the trade of all the Indies, as it in ſome meaſure commanded the ſtrait through which moſt of the ſhips which trade in that part of the world muſt neceſſarily paſs. In the very ſame year they poſſeſſed themſelves of all the rich commerce of Japan, to the total excluſion of the Portugueze, and all other Europeans whatſoever. But with reſpect to this laſt particular, the Dutch drew not that vaſt benefit from this procedure which they expected. For no ſooner were the Portugueze, by the advice of theſe ſtrangers, baniſhed from Japan, than the adviſers themſelves were compelled to abandon the port of Firando, where they had been at the charge of erecting a magnificent magazine

all of ſtone, and obliged to confine themſelves within the narrow limits of the iſland Diſma, where they have ever ſince been ſubject to the caprice of the Japoneſe, and to numberleſs other indignities and inconveniencies, all of them the conſequence of this meaſure.

The time limited for their enjoying the privileges contained in their charter was now expired, when it was renewed for twenty-one years, to commence from January ſixteen hundred and forty-four; the power and reputation of the company, with their conſequence to the whole nation, and the preſent circumſtances of the government of the United Provinces all acting together in their favour. Whether through the addreſs of the directors, or whether it were, that the intereſts of the republic and thoſe of the company were really inſeparable, which I am more apt to believe, whatever the caſe was, it is certain, that at the concluſion of the general peace, the intereſts of the company were ſecured at the ſame time with the privileges of the nation, the Spaniards acknowledging their right to the poſſeſſions they held in the Indies. The company in gratitude for ſo many favours and graces received at the hands of the Dutch nation, and in order to perpetuate the memory of theſe benefits, ordered at her own expence, a magnificent monument to the commercial fame of the city of Amſterdam. This is that celebrated ſtructure called the Stadthouſe of Amſterdam, viſited by all ſtrangers as one of the nobleſt productions of art in all the ſeven provinces. And indeed ſuch an edifice

was much wanted; for though anciently th former town-houſe ſerved for the tranſacting o mercantile affairs, ſomething larger was wanted and more correſpondent to the high pitch to whic the commerce of this maritime capital was no arrived. The firſt ſtone of this building, in rearin of which the companies of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies were both conjoined, was laid on th twenty-ninth day of October ſixteen hundred an forty-eight. It was finiſhed in ſeven years fro its foundation, the accidental burning of the ol town-houſe haſtening the work.

The flouriſhing ſtate of the company's affair did not render thoſe entruſted with the manage ment leſs induſtrious or active in her concern New ſchemes were conſtantly in agitation for he benefit and advancement. The difficulties the had met with in their trade with China, was th occaſion that the general and council at Batavi diſpatched a ſolemn embaſſy into that empire wherein Peter Boyer and James Keyſel were th chief. They carried rich preſents for the emperor This happened in the month of July ſixteen hun dred and fifty-five. That monarch then reſided i the city of Peking, and they were admitted int his preſence, after eight months ſtay for that pur poſe. The civility ſhewn them at their firſt au dience, gave great hopes of ſucceſs: but theſe be ginnings producing no conſequences, they bega to ſuſpect that their deſigns were traverſed b enemies reſiding at court. Their conjecture wa but too well founded. Amongſt thoſe the prin cipal and head was father Adam Schaal, a jeſuit

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and a native of Cologn in Germany. This monk had been upwards of five and thirty years at the emperor's court, and had inſinuated himſelf ſo into the good opinion of that monarch, that he promoted him to the degree of mandarin of the firſt rank, and ſet him over all the philoſophers and mathematicians of his dominions. This artful and ſagacious favourite fruſtrated all the attempts of the Dutch miniſters. He repreſented their nation as a fugitive and inconſiderable people, without lands or cities, living by rapine and a ſort of pedling traffic, by which they cheated all ſuch as had any dealings with them, and who had made themſelves dreaded in the Eaſt, by ſeizing the lands of the natives, and ſuch princes as had the misfortune to give them any countenance, without regard to treaties or juſtice. That wherever they came they they were common and unmerciful oppreſſors. The Chineſe, naturally ſuſpicious, gave credit to theſe relations. Wherefore they interrogated the Dutch ambaſſadors in ſuch manner as to conceal their own deſign, and ſo come at the truth. They aſked them at what diſtance Batavia lay from China, and what was the power and ſtrength of their nation in thoſe parts. The Dutch not knowing the genius of the people they had to do with, made anſwer, that the capital and ſeat of the government of their company lay at five thouſand leagues diſtance; and as to the other particulars, they thought the beſt way was to give ſuch accounts of things as were moſt likely to create reſpect, and a high opinion of their power. This was preciſely what they ought to have avoided

above all things, and what turned out to their prejudice, as ſeemingly agreeing with what father Schaal had ſaid of them. Wherefore about the end of the year ſixteen hundred and fifty-ſeven the ambaſſadors were obliged to leave China, without being able to make any progreſs in the buſineſs committed to them: the Chineſe having formed ſtrong prejudices to their diſadvantage, and being apprehenſive of the dangerous conſequences of admitting a nation ſo infamous for tyranny and breach of faith into their dominions.

Things went better in Japan, to which country they had ſent Zachary Waghenaer. This perſon was inveſted with the character of ambaſſador to the emperor, and his inſtructions were, to uſe all his endeavours to be informed of the policy of the empire, and to ſtudy all the methods poſſible to acquire the affections and confidence of the emperor and his miniſters. No perſon was more capable of fulfilling this commiſſion, Waghenaer being of great abilities and experience, and of the greateſt courteſy, and a moſt engaging behaviour.

A fire which happened at Jedo ſome time after his arrival, and which reduced that place to aſhes, threw every thing at the emperor's court into the utmoſt confuſion, and cauſed the ambaſſador to ſet out for Batavia without doing any thing. But the governor and council receiving intelligenc of the differences which aroſe between the Japoneſe at Nangaſaqui, and the Dutch eſtabliſhed there, Mr. Waghenaer was obliged to return much againſt his inclinations before he had time to refreſh himſelf

ſelf after the fatigues of his journey. He arrived at laſt, but not before the month of March ſixteen hundred and fifty-nine. Having by various ways found means to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of the emperor and his miniſters, he obtained all the advantages which were the object of his commiſſion, by making two conceſſions in themſelves extremely reaſonable and eaſy. One was, that the Dutch upon the firſt ſurmiſe or intelligence of any ſecret deſigns which might be forming, or formed, in the Philippines againſt the dominions of Japan, ſhould inſtantly, and without loſs of time, communicate it to the court; and the other, that ſince the emperor had given a ſafe conduct to the Chineſe trading in his ports, who were thereby under his protection, that therefore, the Dutch ſhould ceaſe to commit hoſtilities upon the ſhips of that nation.

Whilſt the Dutch company was employed in theſe negociations in the moſt remote kingdoms of the eaſtern world, a new war broke out in the iſland of Java, which menaced their affairs with deſtruction. Java had anciently been governed by one monarch, ſometimes ſtiled emperor, and ſometimes king of Jacatra. The governor who held Bantam for this prince, revolting from his maſter, aſſumed the rank and title of king, and was maintained by the Dutch like an independent ſovereign. The Dutch had been accuſtomed to ſecure and eſtabliſh their own power by ſowing theſe diviſions amongſt their neighbours, one of whom was ſure to be the conſtant ally of the

Dutch

Dutch when attacked by the other. Thus the kings of Bantam and of Java never failed to aſſiſt the Dutch, the one againſt the other. In the year ſixteen hundred and fifty-nine, the emperor or king of Jacatra, being otherwiſe occupied in ſettling the troubles that had ariſen in his own dominions, gave the king of Bantam a fair opportunity of attacking the Dutch, whom they ſaw thus deſtitute of the aſſiſtance of their ancient enemy. He therefore levies a great army in all haſte, and lays ſiege to Batavia. The conjectures of the prince failed him upon this occaſion. The Dutch company no longer ſtood in need of aſſiſtance to check the progreſs of ſuch an enemy; they defended their capital againſt all his efforts, and compelled him, after ſuſtaining vaſt loſs of his troops, to raiſe the ſiege, and to make a precipitate retreat. The ſucceſs of the emperor of Jacatra was ſtill worſe. For notwithſtanding he inherited the averſion and unalterable hatred of his father to the company, he not only felt the effects of their growing power, but alſo ſuffered extremely for his obſtinate refuſal to comply with their intereſts. However, nothing could prevail with him, neither perſuaſions nor violence, to favour their commerce, or to have any correſpondence with them. Notwithſtanding thoſe domeſtic troubles, and the danger of engaging in a foreign war, yet the preſervation of the king of Bengal, in danger of being dethroned by his own brother, induced the governor and council to engage in his defence. They contented themſelves

ſelves at the beginning with furniſhing him with proviſions and a train of artillery, and an offer, in caſe he were expelled, of a ſafe and inviolable aſylum at Batavia. Their caution at this time, was probably the effect of the danger that attended their declaring before there was any probability of ſucceſs. But when they perceived a reſpectable body of his own ſubjects reſolved to defend him at all hazards, they ſent troops to his aſſiſtance, which overcame his enemies, and reſtored him to the dignity of his former rank. The gratitude of this prince was of great advantage to their commerce: he permitted them to erect a factory and a fortreſs at Hughly, this laſt was defended by twelve pieces of ordnance of a great ſize, and a broad and deep moat. This favourable turn of affairs ruined the trade of the Engliſh at this place, and brought all the commerce of thoſe parts into the poſſeſſion of the Dutch company.

Altho' fortune all along favoured the affairs of the Dutch, yet the miſcarriage of their embaſſy to China, in which the jeſuits were the principal authors, ſtill ſtuck in their remembrance. The loſs of the charges they had been at in that embaſſy, which coſt them immenſe ſums, ſtill aggravated the injury, and added fuel to their reſentment. Wherefore a fleet of thirty ſail was fitted out to chaſtiſe the order, by attacking the city and port of Macaſſar, in the latter of which the Portugueze fleet then lay, with immenſe riches, great part whereof was for the account of the

the jeſuits. On the ſeventh of June, 1660, they attacked the place by ſea and land, when in ſpite of all the efforts of the prince to whom this city belonged, the Dutch gained a complete victory, burnt three of the Portugueze ſhips, ſunk two more, and took one beſides, ſo richly laden, that its cargo was ſaid to have repaid the Dutch, not only the charge they had been at in this expedition, but alſo the embaſſy to China, the cauſe of the war. This ſucceſs was attended with conſequences highly for the advantage of the victors. The king was obliged to ſend a ſolemn embaſſy to Batavia, to ſubmit to what terms the Dutch governor ſhould think fit to impoſe, to expel the Portugueze for ever from his dominions, and to engage his royal word, never to admit any European beſides themſelves to ſettle in his territories.

Soon after this proſperity, happened one of the worſt diſaſters that ever befel them in the Indies. They were at this time poſſeſſed of a moſt advantageous eſtabliſhment in Formoſa, one of the moſt fertile and pleaſant iſlands in all the Eaſt, being plentifully ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for human life, abounding in various rich merchandize, which rendered the Dutch maſters of a vaſt rich traffic from this ſettlement. The company had been at the charge of erecting two regular forts, ſtrengthened by various works, a ſtrong garriſon, and a numerous artillery. The revenue of the place, which was very populous, was levied in the manner of a poll-tax, and was ſo great

great as to defray all the charges of the maintenance of this important colony, ſo excellently ſituated, no more than twenty-four leagues diſtant from the coaſt of China, and one hundred and fifty from thoſe of Japan, both which ſupply infinite matter of the moſt lucrative traffic.

About ſeven years before the preſent year (in 1653) the Chineſe had plotted the entire deſtruction of the Dutch. The natives had formed an univerſal conſpiracy, which being diſcovered before it was put in execution, delivered them for this time from the danger that hung over them. The Dutch who had the care of this ſettlement, ſeeing the danger removed, remit their wonted vigilance, neglect the fortifications, and their magazines are inſenſibly exhauſted, whilſt the governors, as is commonly the caſe in all trading eſtabliſhments, think of nothing but ſatiating their avarice, and making their fortunes. The Tartars had now conquered China for the third time, at which period there lived in this Dutch ſettlement one Iquon, or as the natives call him, Chinchiluns, a man of a prodigious ſpirit, unbounded capacity, and a ſoul wonderfully enterpriſing, and perſevering to the laſt with a ſtubborn obſtinacy. This man forgetting the meanneſs natural to his condition, as well as the timidity commonly amongſt Europeans aſcribed to his profeſſion, being by trade a taylor, and actuated by an unconquerable averſion for the Tartars, with a few aſſiſtants, and two or three ſmall barks, embarked on the ocean to commence a new trade,

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that of pirate. After cruiſing for ſome time againſt the nation which was the object of his hatred, and his power increaſing, he arrived at laſt at ſo great a height, that he became formidable to the emperor himſelf. That prince finding no method conſiſtent with honour to get rid of this adventurer, had recourſe to means unworthy even of ſuch a barbarian. Having learnt that Iquon's ruling paſſion was an unbounded and inſatiable ambition, he enticed him to court by the promiſe of making him a king, and aſſigning him for his dominions the provinces of Canton and Tokien. No ſooner was his enemy in his power, than he cauſed him to be ſeized, and condemned him to ſwallow a cup of poiſon. The ſon of this man ſucceeded to his father's command, and to his hatred of the Tartar nation, increaſed by the murder of his father. This perſon entreating the aſſiſtance of the Dutch, was refuſed, notwithſtanding the vaſt advantages he offered them in caſe he was ſucceſsful againſt the Tartars. Their denial exciting his reſentment, he reſolved to invade the ſettlements of that nation, and chiefly Formoſa, where he was perfectly well informed of the weakneſs and ſecurity of the Dutch eſtabliſhment.

For this purpoſe he aſſembled all his power. His fleet conſiſted of ſix hundred veſſels, the greateſt part of them ſmall barks, but amongſt theſe were one hundred ſhips of force, mounting each forty guns and upwards. So vaſt a preparation alarmed the Dutch, particularly the gover-

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nor of Formoſa, who immediately ſent to inform the general of Batavia of the impending ſtorm, and to require inſtant ſuccours to enable him to withſtand that torrent which threatened to overwhelm and break down all before it. He alſo ſent to Japan to bring ſuch of the ſhips of the Dutch nation as were upon thoſe coaſts. All his diligence was to no effect for Souja, the uncle of Coxenga, ſon of the late unfortunate conqueror, appeared before the place with the fleet in the month of March, 1661, when as yet no ſuccours had arrived to its relief.

The governor was not dejected by this appearance of danger. A ſmall body of infantry (350) were ſent down to the ſhore to prevent the landing of the enemy; yet notwithſtanding the gallant behaviour of this ſmall detachment who fought like lions, forty thouſand Chineſe got poſſeſſion of the iſland; the Dutch being overpowered with numbers, retired to their fortreſs. Their firſt operation was to cut off all intercourſe between the town and the iſland, which was immediately effected. Soon after they made themſelves maſters of all the circumjacent country. The victor, imitating the practice of a former Dutch governor, put ſuch of the enemy as fell into his hands to death in the moſt inhuman manner, practiſing all manner of cruelty and inſults upon thoſe unhappy victims of his barbarous fury, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition.

Coxenga

Coxenga after conſidering the ſituation of the place, which there was ſmall hopes of his being able to force with an army ſo unfit for ſuch an enterprize as his own was, ſent ſome of the graveſt and moſt conſiderable amongſt the priſoners he had taken in the out-works which he had juſt aſſaulted, and carried with vaſt effuſion of blood, the Dutch diſputing every inch of ground before they retired into fort Zealand, in order to induce the governor to ſurrender the place upon certain conditions. Theſe were, that the Dutch ſhould be ſuffered to paſs in ſafety with all their effects from the iſland, to whatever place they ſhould think proper; but that if this propoſal were rejected, they had nothing to expect but the moſt ſevere and rigorous execution of the right of conquerors, upon perſons who make a ſtubborn and obſtinate reſiſtance. Beſides theſe threats, the condition of the ambaſſadors, who were in the power of their enemies, contributed to move the governor to accept thoſe offers. Notwithſtanding he made anſwer, that tho' his ſorrow for their unhappy ſituation, and approaching ſufferings, was extreme, and no leſs than what he owed to his friends and countrymen, and eſpecially to perſons of their high conſideration, yet he could not even upon thoſe weighty motives think of relinquiſhing his honour and reputation, by betraying into the hands of the enemy the truſt confided to him by his country. The priſoners returned with this anſwer, to ſuffer the fate they apprehended. They were immediately put

put to death with all thoſe of their nation who had fallen into the hands of the barbarians, men, women, and infants.

And now Coxenga ſet himſelf to effect by open force what he had not been able to compaſs by ſofter methods. He blocked up the port with three hundred junks, a light ſort of ſmall veſſels, on which he had embarked the flower of his army: at the ſame time two batteries of twelve pieces of ordnance poured their ſhot into the place. Whilſt theſe things were carrying on, admiral Cowen with a ſtrong ſquadron of nine ſhips of war from Batavia came in ſight. After landing his troops, he marched in conjunction with a detachment of the garriſon to attack a redoubt which covered a body of ſix thouſand of the enemy, who being the beſt armed and diſciplined of all the forces of Coxenga, obliged the Dutch to retire with the loſs of four hundred of their men, and after they had in vain renewed the attack time after time. Next, attempting to force the paſſage into the harbour, the Dutch admiral loſt two of his beſt men of war, one of which was blown up by an accidental ſhot fired into her powder room, the other ran aſhore, where all her company to the number of three hundred and eighty, were ſlaughtered by the enemy. Cowen, ſeeing all his endeavours in behalf of the beſieged fruſtrated, detached two of his ſquadron for Japan, whilſt he embarked all the women and children in the fortreſs, which done, he ſet ſail for Batavia with the account of the ſituation of the Dutch factory at Formoſa.

The news of thoſe ill ſucceſſes affected all who heard them with extreme ſorrow. Immediately meaſures were taken for the deliverance of their countrymen; an embaſſy was diſpatched into China to ſollicit the aid of the Tartar emperor againſt an uſurper who diſtreſſed their colony, for no other cauſe, than that they had refuſed to aſſiſt him againſt the Tartar nation; and leſt this embaſſy ſhould not ſucceed, which was much feared, five ſhips of war were ordered to ſea without delay for the relief of their friends.

Cojet the Dutch governor ſtill continued to make a gallant defence, and the enemy began to loſe hopes of being able to reduce the fortreſs. Wherefore Souja the uncle of Coxenga thought of abandoning the ſiege without the knowledge of his nephew, and to withdraw that part of the army which was under his command. Notwithſtanding his caution in keeping the ſecret, Coxenga ſuſpected his deſign; wherefore forgetting the nearneſs of blood, he ſeized old Souja, loaded him with irons, and in ſpite of all obſtacles that ſtood in the way of his deſign, the plague and famine raging in his camp, carried on the ſiege with ſo much vigour, that the governor was laid under the neceſſity of ſurrendering the place in the very moment when the ſuccours ſent for its relief came in view. It was delivered to the Chineſe, and the governor embarking the remains of his garriſon, ſet ſail for Batavia, where he was laid in irons for giving up the place at the time when the ſuccours ſent to his relief were almoſt ready to diſembark. This misfortune gre

great as it was, had favourable conſequences, the Chineſe emperor conſenting to accept of their friendſhip, and granting them his aſſiſtance out of dread of the power of Coxenga, who now infeſted the ſeas of China and Japan.

About this time Charles the ſecond of England, having married the Infanta of Portugal, cauſed a treaty of peace to be ſet on foot between the king of Portugal and the commonwealth of the United Provinces. This was ſoon after brought to a concluſion, both parties being equally weary of the war, in which neither ſide had been either abſolutely victorious, or entire loſers. The Portugueze loſt moſt of their ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies to the Dutch, who in their turn had been compelled to yield the Brazils in America to the former. Notwithſtanding this peace took place in Europe, the war was ſtill carried on in the Indies, where the company acting like ſovereigns independent of the reſolves of the republic, ſeized Coulan on the coaſt of Malabar, (in 1660) and the year after, Cananor, a place on the ſame coaſt, after a vigorous defence, underwent the ſame fate. From hence they proceeded to Cochin, a city of infinite conſequence, both in reſpect of trade and the ſtrength of its ſituation. Goens the Dutch admiral met with a very different reception from what he expected, the garriſon holding out a conſiderable time, and killing numbers of his ſoldiers. However, perſevering in ſpite of all difficulties, the Portugueze were obliged at laſt to ſurrender, after having ſuſtained great loſs of men in the defence of this capital. Goens ſeeing himſelf maſter of ſo important a city, was at a

loſs how to behave. He thought it hard to abandon ſo fine an eſtabliſhment after paying ſo dearly for the acquiſition of it, and on the other hand, he had not a ſufficient force to preſerve a place of ſo great extent. Wherefore he ſent to Batavia, the only method left him, to know the governor's pleaſure thereon, and his anſwer was, to improve his good fortune to the utmoſt, and to ſpare no expence either of men or money in that enterprize. Soon after this meſſage followed a ſtrong ſquadron with a conſiderable body of troops on board of it, to reinforce him. Encouraged by this reinforcement, Goens marched his troops over land to attack Porca, the capital of an Indian prince of ſmall power, who had lived in ſubjection to the Portugueze. The Indian complying with the times, ſubmitted to the victors, paying the ſame acknowledgment to the Dutch he had formerly uſed to pay his ancient maſters.

Cranganor, a city ſituated between Calicut and Cochin, yielded without ſtriking a blow. Thus the company of the Indies drove the Portugueze out of all their ſettlements and fortreſſes on the coaſt of Malabar, within the limits of one year, having reduced under their obedience a coaſt extending one hundred and fifty leagues along the ſea ſhore, and all that wealthy trade whereof the Portugueze had been ſole maſters from the time of their firſt eſtabliſhment in the Indies. Theſe conqueſts were confirmed to them by the alliances concluded at this time with

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the Zamorin or emperor of Calicut, the king of Cochin, and other Indian potentates.

In order to improve by all poſſible methods the advantages which the indulgence of fortune now conferred upon them, a ſolemn embaſſy was diſpatched to Arenzeb, who had lately mounted the throne of the Mogul. This offer of peace and friendſhip was accepted, with marks of the higheſt good will to their nation. In like manner treaties were ſet on foot with all thoſe monarchs whoſe dominions border on the gulph of Bengal; all which had an iſſue equally favourable. Notwithſtanding, in a ſhort time after, ſome things happened, which gave riſe to ſome differences with the king of Siam. Wherefore the Dutch factories were withdrawn from his dominions. This unexpected proceeding alarmed the prince, and awakened his fears. Immediately Siameſe deputies are ſent to Batavia, to know the cauſe of this extraordinary conduct. The council informed that monarch in the point on which he had required their anſwer, in terms full of the moſt profound reſpect. Whereupon the king ſent an ambaſſador to invite the Dutch to re-eſtabliſh their ſettlements in Siam, and offering certain aſſurances of ample ſatisfaction for the paſt, and for all future grievances whatſoever: ſo that now the Dutch returning to his ports, their trade in thoſe parts flouriſhed with the ſame vigour it had formerly done. Some time after the Dutch in their turn gave freſh cauſe of complaint. The crew of a Dutch bark cruelly put to death thirty-five of the Siameſe, having before they proceeded

to this laſt act of brutality, violated the perſons of their wives and daughters. The Dutch, foreſeeing that nothing was more capable of alienateing the affections of the Indian nations than outrages of this kind, ſo ſhocking to human nature, cauſed the offenders to be apprehended, and puniſhed in a manner ſuitable to the abominable crimes they had committed, and that before either the ſurviving perſons aggrieved, or the king, had time to apply for vengeance on the perpetrators.

The loſs of Formoſa ſtill reigned in the breaſts of the Dutch. Beſides, the emperor of China making overtures of aſſiſting them in caſe they reſolved to attempt to re-eſtabliſh that ſettlement, contributed to their forming the reſolution they came to on this ſubject. This monarch had ſtill more reaſon than ever to entertain apprehenſions of Coxenga, who had not only reduced ſeveral iſlands on the Chineſe coaſts, but alſo ſome towns upon the continent. Wherefore on theſe aſſurances they ordered to ſea a fleet of ſeventeen large ſhips under the command of Balthazar Borth, with orders to join the Tartars, and to oppoſe with all his power the advances of Coxenga. He ſet ſail for the coaſt of China, where the conqueror had reduced the iſland of Quemoy, the Tartars with all their power not being able to recover it. The Dutch admiral reſolved to begin by attempting the principal fortreſs in the iſland, which ſtood upon the ſhore, hoping, that this proceeding would diſmay the enemy, and raiſe the credit of the Dutch ſoldiery. But Coxenga, whoſe men

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were excellently well diſciplined, received him with ſo much gallantry, that he was forced to abandon his deſign.

Wherefore changing his meaſures, he determined to attack their fleet whilſt the Tartar forces fell upon the land army. Coxenga's navy conſiſted of fourſcore great junks, and twenty ſmaller ones, all of them filled with ſoldiers, and their full complements of ſeamen, and well provided with braſs cannon. The ſignal given, both ſides engage with the utmoſt bravery. The fight was bloody and obſtinate, neither ſide being willing to yield, and Coxenga diſtinguiſhing himſelf above all others, by his perſonal courage in the midſt of dangers, his experience in naval affairs, and his conduct in ſecuring all advantages to his own men. However, nothing was able to ſtand before the fire of the Dutch artillery, which tore his junks to pieces, now like ſo many wrecks. Wherefore Coxenga, making a virtue of neceſſity, gave the ſignal for retreating, while he was yet in a condition to maintain his order, and to retire like a ſoldier. The behaviour of the Tartar army on ſhore was very different. Before the engagement began, the general formed his army into order of battle, in which poſition he continued without ſtriking a blow all the time the fight laſted. After all was over, and the Chineſe had retired, the Dutch general reproached him with a behaviour, which might be interpreted ſo much to his diſadvantage. He made anſwer, that all his endeavours at firſt to bring his men to engage was to no purpoſe, but that if the Dutch

would attack a ſecond time, he thought he ſaw a better ſpirit revive in their countenances, which promiſed a better behaviour. Borth aſked no more; attacks Coxenga's fleet a ſecond time, and routs them totally, the Tartar general looking on as before. This ſecond victory recovered all the new conqueſts of Coxenga, who loſt his life with immortal glory in this rencounter, the Tartars demoliſhing his fortreſſes as faſt as the enemy quitted them, whilſt the Dutch abandoned themſelves to ſatiate their avarice by plunder. Soon after the company's forces reduced the iſland of Amoy, and the conqueſt of Formoſa was no longer doubted. They were however diſappointed in their expectation. Old Souja having procured his enlargement, aſſembled the forces of his nephew, and diſpoſed every thing in the beſt manner, ſo that the conqueſt of the ancient ſettlement of the Dutch was looked upon as a matter of great uncertainty. However, having from his great experience ſufficiently proved the inſtability of human affairs, he ſecretly formed the deſign of ſecuring all by a peace which ſhould ſatisfy both their enemies. But now the ſon of Coxenga being promoted to the rank and command of his father, and diſcovering the deſigns of the ancient commander, had him a ſecond time committed to priſon, where he died by his own hands. The abilities of this young leader were not inferior to thoſe of his illuſtrious predeceſſors, and he ordered matters with ſo much prudence and courage, that the Dutch admiral

miral deſpairing of gaining his point, returned to Batavia.

King Charles the ſecond having engaged the States in a war with the Engliſh, retarded ſome time the advancement of the power of the Dutch company in the Eaſt; which was no ſooner over, than they found themſelves embaraſſed by their quarrels with the king of Macaſſar, whoſe ſubjects committed all manner of inſults and depredations upon their nation in the Indies. Not content with plundering ſuch ſhips as had either through deſign, or the violence of the weather, taken refuge in his dominions, they had proceeded to murder ſome of the Dutch who had landed in his territories. Hoſtilities had not as yet been commenced on either ſide, when matters were made up by treaty, wherein the king ſtipulated to make ample reſtitution for the loſſes they had ſuſtained, and to make all manner of acknowledgments for the injuries committed by his people.

The Dutch juſtly ſuſpecting theſe offers, which were ſo unreſerved, ſent a great power of ſhips and land forces under Cornelius Speelman their admiral, with orders to ſee every article fulfilled with the greateſt exactneſs. He arrived before Macaſſar in December 1666, and next morning the deputies of the king arrived with a thouſand and fifty-ſix ingots of gold, the ſum ſtipulated in ſatisfaction for the murder of the Dutch, and one thouſand four hundred thirty-five rixdollars for the veſſels that had been plundered; but they refuſed to make the ſubmiſſion promiſed by the king,

king, alledging that ſuch acknowledgements were incompatible with his dignity. The company had with reaſon foreſeen no leſs, and they had been alſo informed that the king had ſent a large ſquadron to attack the iſland of Bouton. Wherefore the admiral that inſtant denounced war, and landing his men carried off an immenſe booty, having burnt fifty villages to the ground, and deſtroyed an hundred of the ſhips which lay in the ports of that iſland.

Having thus revenged the king's breach of his faith, he ſet ſail for the relief of Bouton, which was already reduced to great extremities by the fleet and land army of that monarch. The ſuccours arrived the laſt day of the year above-mentioned, and the firſt day of the new year the admiral forced the entrance of the harbour with his ſmall veſſels, afterwards advancing to the relief of the place. The king of Macaſſar's general lay before it with an army of ten thouſand men. The Dutch general, after making the neceſſary diſpoſitions, and having encouraged his men, gave orders for attacking the enemy's trenches; and ſetting their magazines on fire, they were forced to abandon the ſiege with precipitancy. This misfortune was followed by an univerſal deſertion in the troops of their allies, which were the flower of their army. The generals of the king of Macaſſar, finding their enterprize defeated, had recourſe to treaty, the Dutch refuſing to make any accommodation with them, but on condition of their ſurrendering at diſcretion, which they were

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at laſt neceſſitated to accept. And thus ended this war in the ſpace of four months, which brought the company ſo many advantages, and added ſo much to their reputation.

After this they proceeded to diſarm their priſoners, and five thouſand of them were ſent to people an iſland near to that of Bouton. Four hundred were made ſlaves, five thouſand bougies or auxiliars of ſeveral nations were given to the king of Palacca, who had aſſiſted them in the war. Three hundred veſſels were reſtored to the king of Bouton, with all that had been taken from his ſubjects by the enemy, that could be recovered. Admiral Speelman returned to Batavia in triumph, where he was received with general acclamations, having augmented the number of his fleet with the junks of the king of Macaſſar, and which was adorned with an hundred and ninety-five ſtandards taken from the enemy, all their arms and warlike ſtores, and the principal officers of the enemy who were brought priſoners to that capital.

Notwithſtanding thoſe loſſes the king of Macaſſar ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to the terms preſcribed by the company; and being ſenſible that all the power of his iſland was too ſmall a match for the Dutch company, he endeavoured to gain the neighbouring princes to engage in his deſigns, giving them hopes of for ever freeing the Indian potentates from the ſeverity of their yoke. Many liſtened to his perſuaſions, ſo that the Dutch general, terrified with the approaching ſtorm, had recourſe to all the allies of the company

pany to aſſiſt in repelling it. Wherefore having drawn together all the force he could raiſe, he ſet ſail from Amboyna (on the eighth of June) with a fleet of ſixteen ſhips great and ſmall, and fourteen ſhallops which carried the ſuccours of the kings of Palacca and Ternate. Sailing for the iſland of Bouton, and thence for Macaſſar, he made ſeveral deſcents, and always with ſucceſs, notwithſtanding the ſuperior numbers of the enemy. Soon after he attempted to force the entrance of the port of Macaſſar, in which he failed, being prevented by a fort which the king had cauſed to be built for that purpoſe. Some time after, being joined by a part of his fleet which had ſeparated from him in a ſtorm, he made a deſcent with his whole force. The Dutch troops conſiſted of ſix hundred Europeans, three hundred Indians trained to war, three thouſand of the troops of Ternate and Bouton, ſeven thouſand bougies, and two independent companies: thoſe of the enemy amounted to twenty thouſand, under the command of their reſpective kings, whom the king of Macaſſar had drawn over to his ſide.

The king of Palacca was detached with a hundred choſen men to attack the caſtle of Gliſſon in the night. This he executed with ſo much conduct and intrepidity, that by three o'clock in the morning the Dutch general was informed that he had carried it, when he ſent him what troops were neceſſary to preſerve that poſt. The enemy ſtruck with this misfortune, made vaſt efforts to repoſſeſs themſelves of it, but were conſtantly

ſtantly repulſed with great loſs, wherefore they were forced to abandon that deſign. At this time the Dutch, laying hold of the convenient ſituation of the place, ſo galled the enemy with ſhowers of bombs, and red hot bullets, that they were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, and the Dutch general, ſeizing this opportunity by ſallying out with the choiceſt troops of his army, drove the enemy from all their poſts.

Speelman reimbarked his forces in order to invade another part of the iſland, where he ſpread fire and deſolation wherever he went. At length both parties being tired with the inconveniences of the war, a peace was moved, which the king of Macaſſar forwarded by all the means in his power, becauſe of the deſertion of his Indian allies, each endeavouring ſeparately to make the beſt terms poſſible for himſelf. He followed their example, and the treaty was concluded on the eighteenth of November one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-ſeven. By this treaty it was ſtipulated, that the governor of the iſland, the king of Macaſſar, and all the neighbouring princes, ſhould ſend a ſolemn embaſſy, to make their ſubmiſſions to the Dutch company at Batavia.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the Dutch fleet and army continued at Macaſſar, when the rainy ſeaſon coming on, cauſed ſuch a mortality among the troops, that the Indians were tempted to break the peace, and ſuddenly falling upon them, they maſſacred a great number of the ſick, and amongſt thoſe, two captains. Whereupon

upon the war broke out with as great violence as ever, and laſted for two years after, in which time Speelman harraſſed them to ſuch a degree, that they were fain to implore his forgiveneſs, and to ſend another embaſſy to Batavia, with offers to ſubmit to whatever terms the company ſhould think proper to impoſe. They were left to the mercy of the general, who beſides the conditions of the former treaties (of 1660 and 1667) which were abundantly ſevere, impoſed others ſtill more inſupportable. (This laſt treaty was in June 1669.)

This treaty ſecured to the Dutch the commerce of the iſland of Celebes; and what was infinitely more conſiderable, it gave them the ſole poſſeſſion of the ſpice trade, from which all other nations were hereby totally and for ever excluded. For ſince this peace, thoſe princes have loſt all commerce with other nations, being nothing better than the ſlaves of the Dutch, the other European nations continuing idle ſpectators of their ſucceſſes, by which conduct they loſt a ſhare in that lucrative commerce which it was then eaſy to have obtained.

Whilſt the company's affairs advanced thus rapidly abroad, the mother republic was reduced to the laſt extremities in Europe, the French and Engliſh joining in her deſtruction, ſo that there ſcarce ſeemed any other reſource left, than to ſeek an aſylum in the arms of that child ſhe had nurſed with ſo tender a care by embarking for Batavia, and eſtabliſhing the remains of the Dutch nation, and of liberty, in their

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ſettlements in the Eaſt. At laſt the Engliſh nation were touched with a generous concern for their calamities, and delivering them out of their ſufferings, which was their duty on a double account, humanity and their own intereſt, raiſed them to their ancient grandeur and independence. The company were not free from the effects of a ſtorm which had ſhaken the whole frame of the ſtate. The French began to entertain deſires of becoming powerful at ſea, for which reaſon they laid hold of every opportunity to extend their commerce, and in particular they wiſhed at this time to make themſelves maſters of ſome part of the Dutch company's poſſeſſions in the Indies. For this purpoſe they ſent a ſtrong ſquadron into thoſe parts, intending to attack Ceylon, and thereby to engroſs the cinnamon trade to themſelves. Their firſt attempts ſeemed to promiſe them the deſired ſucceſs. For the French fleet appearing on the coaſt of that iſland, landed their forces, attacked the citadel of Triquinamale, which they ſoon reduced; after which a conſiderable party of the Indians went over to them, induced thereto partly by the view of their ſucceſs, and partly by fair promiſes, and the high idea which the French gave them of the power and magnificence of their king. The council at Batavia hearing of this loſs, ordered Goens with a ſtrong ſquadron to regain the poſſeſſion of this important place. The French admiral on the approach of this power, ſet ſail for Surat, leaving his new conqueſt to the protection of a very weak garriſon. The Dutch admiral firſt blocked

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up the port, and landing his troops, he inveſted the place by ſea and land at the ſame time. The garriſon made no long defence, ſo that the troops of the company once more entered Triquinamale, where they found one hundred and twelve pieces of fine braſs cannon, of itſelf no inconſiderable booty. Thus ended the French expedition againſt Ceylon, which ſerved only to awaken the Dutch, and to put them upon their guard againſt ſuch ſurprifes for the future.

As ſoon as the French ſquadron arrived at Surat, they reſolved upon the conqueſt of St. Thomas, a place which the Dutch company had taken from the Portugueze, ſome years before. The ſucceſs of this enterprize was as great as that at Triquinamale, and they enjoyed this conqueſt for no longer a time than the preceding, the ſquadron of that nation ſailing for France, and then leaving it as they had before done Triquinamale. This was the laſt attempt of any European power againſt the poſſeſſions or commerce of the company.

Their affairs advanced in a wonderful manner the remaining part of that century, their power and wealth increaſing to a prodigious degree. We may form ſome notion of this laſt, by the quantity of cinnamon imported in the year ſixteen hundred eighty-ſeven, which tho' it amounted to one hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds weight, was however much ſhort of the quantity imported for many preceding years. This obſervation will ſerve at the ſame to ſhew the importance of that iſland which furniſhes this rich

rich commodity in ſuch quantities. Their charter was now renewed (on the eleventh of Auguſt 1698) for forty years, which advanced the power and credit of the company to an aſtoniſhing height, and rendered them as reſpectable in the eyes of all the powers of Europe, as they had formerly been in the Eaſt. In the ſeventeenth year of this preſent century, the company were in hopes of being able to obtain new favours and advantages, for which purpoſe they applyed for a new charter, which was refuſed. However, the States condeſcended to iſſue a placard in their favour, which forbid all the ſubjects of the United Provinces to ſend any ſhips into the Indies, or any where elſe within the limits of the company's charter, as alſo to interfere in any manner whatſoever in that commerce, without the licence of the company, to have any concern in foreign companies, or to ſerve aboard their ſhips; all which precautions tended equally to promote the intereſts of the company and of the republic in general.

Whilſt the company was ſtudying to advance or ſecure her intereſts in Europe, there aroſe certain commotions in the Eaſt, attended with very dangerous conſequences to their affairs in thoſe diſtant climes. The Chineſe had entered into a conſpiracy to deſtroy and exterminate the ſubjects of the company, which coming to the notice of the governor, he reſolved to loſe not a moment in order to prevent its ſucceſs. Immediately all the ſeamen were landed from the fleet, when to encourage them in what they were go-

ing about, the plunder of the ſuburbs of the city (in Java) was abandoned to them, after which the greateſt part of the conſpirators were cut to pieces. This ſevere chaſtiſement preſerved the city of Batavia and all the Dutch poſſeſſions in the iſland of Java to the company, tho' not without infinite effuſion of blood, which was followed by a formidable rebellion, the flames of which were not extinguiſhed for ſome time after, and even then with great difficulty.

This affair has been variouſly related, thoſe who envied the governor, crying out againſt his cruelty, and laying the blame of all to his male-adminiſtration. Others again attribute theſe calamities to the wickedneſs and perfidy natural to the Chineſe. However it is certain that this matter occaſioned much noiſe in Europe, and the baron Imhoff was ſent into the Indies, expreſsly on purpoſe to ſettle the concerns of the company, and to examine into the truth of this affair.

In the year ſeventeen hundred and forty, the charter of the company was very near expiring, but all that could then be obtained was the renewal of it for one year only. Since that time, every thing with reſpect to the affairs of the company has been eſtabliſhed on a ſolid baſis, not only to the ſatisfaction of the perſons intereſted in her ſucceſs and proſperity, but alſo to the whole body of the ſtate in general.

The reader will not be diſpleaſed to peruſe after the hiſtory of the eſtabliſhment of the Dutch Eaſt-India company, the account of the manner in which all their affairs in the Indies are carried on

on, an article for which I am indebted to the labours of the laſt editor of the collection of voyages publiſhed under the name of doctor Harris. Their whole buſineſs in India, ſays that writer, is divided into governments and directions in the following manner. Firſt, Batavia, the chief and capital, where reſide the governor-general and ordinary council of India, to whom all thoſe governments and directions are ſubordinate, ſending their accounts to them, the ballance whereof is entered into the accounts-general of India, which are kept there; beſides which, there are ſeveral places immediately under the government and direction of the governor and council of Batavia, as theſe, Japon a chief-ſhip, Tonquin a chief-ſhip, Macaſſar a commandant, Siam a chief-ſhip, Bantam a factory, Japara a factory, Jambee a chief-ſhip, Pallambam a chief-ſhip, Arracan a chief-ſhip. Secondly, Amboyna, a government, under which are ſeveral iſlands, where they pay a yearly penſion to the inhabitants, not to ſuffer cloves or other ſpices to grow. Thirdly, Banda is a government, under which are ſeveral iſlands, to the natives of which they alſo pay a yearly ſubſidy, to deſtroy the ſpices. Fourthly, Ternate a government. Fifthly, Malacca, alſo a government. Sixthly, Ceylon is a government, where they have many factories, all the accounts whereof are ſent to Columbo, the principal of them all. Seventhly, Cochin a government, under which is all the coaſt of Malabar. Eighthly, the government of Policat, has under it the coaſts of Coromandel and Pegu.

Ninthly, Bengal, a direction, under which are all the factories in that bay, the chief of which is that of Hughly, from whence the accounts of all the reſt are tranſmitted to Batavia. Tenthly, Surat another direction, and under it many factories. The eleventh diviſion is that of Perſia, a direction, the chief reſidence Gombroon, under which are Iſpahan and Baſſora. The twelfth and laſt diviſion is that of the Cape of Good-Hope a government, to which is ſubordinate the iſland of prince Maurice. The difference between a government and a direction conſiſts in this, that the former is always ſeated in a place which is the property of the company, whereas what they call a direction, is an eſtabliſhment, where the place is under a foreign prince, and where the company have no garriſon. There is no precedence in rank or place between all thoſe governments, directions, commands, that of Batavia alone excepted, the perſons poſſeſſing thoſe charges every where taking place according to their ſeniority, as well as all other of the company's officers, of whatever quality or degree ſoever.

The prudence of the company in the order and arrangement of the ſeveral parts of her government is very conſpicuous, and in particular, in that exact proportion of the ſalaries of her officers, from whence her ſucceſs in a great meaſure proceeds. It is ſaid that no ſervant of the company has ſo ſmall an allowance as to be tempted by his neceſſities, nor ſo great an appointment as to ſet him above the duties of his function,

function, the common occaſion of the decay of the affairs of thoſe governments where a contrary conduct is purſued. Follows the detail of the ſalaries of the officers and ſervants of the company, beginning at thoſe who have the ſmalleſt appointments. The under-aſſiſtant, ſcrivener, or writer, an office of the loweſt degree, and commonly ſupplied with ſoldiers drawn from the guards, has from nine to fourteen guilders per menſem. The aſſiſtant has twenty guilders per menſem or month, and for his diet, four rixdollars more. The upper aſſiſtant, book-keeper, or ſecretary, twenty-eight to thirty-ſix guilders per month ſalary, diet four rixdollars. The under copeman, from thirty-ſix to forty-five guilders per month ſalary, diet eight rixdollars. The upper copeman, from eighty to one hundred and twenty guilders per menſem ſalary, and twelve rixdollars diet. There are alſo ſome perſons ſent out (to make purchaſes for the company I ſuppoſe) from the leſſer chambers at ſeventy-two guilders per menſem. At Batavia and in Ceylon where proviſions are dear, thirteen rixdollars are allowed them for diet. A commandore has one hundred and fifty guilders per month ſalary, diet twenty rixdollars. The commandant, a new title, ſomewhat leſs than the commandore. The director has two hundred guilders ſalary per month, and thirty rixdollars diet. The governor has the ſame appointment, as alſo a member of the extraordinary council of India. The members of the ordinary council of India at Batavia, have each three hundred and fifty

guilders per menſem ſalary, and one hundred rix-dollars for their diet. Laſtly, the governor-general of Batavia, has one thouſand two hundred guilders per menſem ſalary, and two hundred rixdollars diet, beſides a gratuity of one thouſand five hundred rixdollars for every time he goes to the fleet, which is uſually done when the ſhips depart for Europe.

All perſons in the company's ſervice, merchants, divines, civil magiſtrates, ſoldiers, and ſeamen, are ranked in their ſeveral degrees, and take place accordingly. The general is allowed wine, and other liquors, and proviſions, out of the company's warehouſes, without limitation. All other officers, down to the aſſiſtants, are allowed monthly, liquors, ſpices, oil, wood, rice, vinegar, candles, and other neceſſaries, in very large proportions, according to their quality. The upper copeman's allowance is twenty canadars of Spaniſh wine per menſem, beſides mum, white wine, and other liquors, twenty-four pounds of wax for candles, corn for poultry, rice for ſlaves, &c. the diet money allowed them being only for freſh proviſions,

Soldiers are claſſed or ranked in the ſame manner, viz. Firſt, a common ſoldier has from nine to fourteen guilders a month, as the under aſſiſtant. Next, the ſerjeant has the pay and diet of an aſſiſtant. An enſign's pay and diet is equal to that of the under copeman. The lieutenant's is the ſame as that of the copeman. The fifth captain has for pay and diet the ſame as the upper copeman; and the ſixth major's pay and diet

diet as the commandore. Military perſons give place to civil officers of the ſame rank. Thus a commandore takes place of a major, and an upper copeman of a captain, as a copeman does of a lieutenant. There are three majors in India, one at Batavia, one at Ceylon, and one at Amboyna, or Banda. Theſe aſſiſt the governor in military affairs, and command all other military perſons. Sometimes proviſional officers are made, who attain to the pay of their office, according to their merit.

The ſame order obtains amongſt ſeamen. A common ſeaman has like a private centinel, from nine to fourteen guilders: third mate, gunner, boatſwain, and ſteer man, from eighteen to twenty-four guilders a month, and the aſſiſtant carpenter from forty to fifty. The under ſteerman, or ſecond mate, from twenty-four to thirty-ſix guilders, as the upper aſſiſtant. The upper ſteerman, or chief mate, from fifty to ſixty guilders, and ranks with the under copeman. Skippers have from ſixty to one hundred guilders per month, as the copeman, and commodores from one hundred to one hundred and fifty guilders per menſem, beſides which, they have the ſhip's allowance for proviſion, and when in Batavia they have road money paid them every month for freſh proviſions and fruit. In other roads they are ſupplied with theſe things from the factories on ſhore. The company employ no perſons at ſea with the pay or title of captains, and very few as commodores, ſometimes not more than one in all India.

The pay and allowance of the miniſters or clergy ſtand thus. The predicant or preacher has the ſame as the upper copeman. Dominees or viſitors of the ſick, twenty-four guilders per menſem as the aſſiſtant. All of them are ſworn not to commit to writing, nor to intermeddle in matters of ſtate or commerce. They are allowed a preſident in all the governments, and in Batavia, two or three to ſupply the place of thoſe who may deceaſe. In the directions there are no dominees, only the ſcriptures, as alſo printed forms of prayer are read mornings and evenings thro' the week, and on Sundays. A ſurgeon's pay is from forty to fifty guilders per month.

In all qualities from under aſſiſtant to upper copeman or merchant, they generally ſerve five or three years by agreement, which term being expired, they are at liberty to leave the ſervice, tho' they are commonly continued, and upon their own petitions, if the affairs of the company ſo permit, the governor and council entertain them in the place next in degree above that they formerly held, allowing them a ſalary ſomewhat under that of the office to which they have been thus promoted: but if their merits in the ſervice are conſiderable, they are frequently advanced to a ſuperior rank, tho' they have not perhaps been ſix months in the other office; ſo that ſome have thus riſen in two or three years from aſſiſtant to under copeman, and others in as ſhort a time from under to upper copeman. In theſe promotions they generally have reſpect to ſucceſſion, as if a chief or ſecond of a factory dies, and the third

third performs the duties of that function to the ſatisfaction of his ſuperiors, tho' no more than a ſimple book-keeper, he is promoted to be an under copeman and chief of the place, and if he continues to deſerve well, he may be advanced to the office and rank of copeman in a year or two more. Married perſons receive all their pay in the Indies, and thoſe who are unmarried half theirs only, and that at an over-rate: as at Batavia the rixdollar, which is intrinſically worth no more than forty-eight ſtivers, is valued to ſuch perſons at ſixty; and at Policat, the pagoda is valued at five and a half guilders, tho' it is in reality worth four and a half only.

Beſides the above encouragements to their officers and ſervants, the company alſo finds them in lodgings, for which purpoſe, as well as for warehouſes for their goods, they have ſpacious buildings. All or moſt of the perſons ſent out of Europe are of the qualities from aſſiſtant to upper copeman, rarely of any higher office, and now and then a perſon who is of the degree of member of the extraordinary council; all offices being generally left in the diſpoſal of the governor-general and council at Batavia, to be given to perſons properly qualified, according to merit. Thus perſons of ſufficient capacity may gradually riſe by ſeniority to the quality of upper copeman, after which they can riſe no higher till they are made commandores. Upon any vacancy in the governments or directions, an upper copeman of ſufficient ability generally ſupplies that poſt; ſome have been fifteen or twenty years in the rank of upper

upper copeman without being able to attain to one of thoſe places; ſome even ſtand there and never riſe higher, and there are not a few who never attain to the place of upper copeman, for want of merit or capacity.

All ſalaries and wages of merchants, ſoldiers, ſeamen, and others, go on for their outward bound and home voyages, and every one has a copy of his accounts out of the book of wages yearly, which he keeps, carries home with him, or diſpoſes of at his pleaſure. At his return, the chamber from which he was ſent, pays him punctually the balance of his account, with all that is due to him for the term of the voyage. But ſuch as have ſerved the whole time of their agreement, and deſire to be freemen in India, either diſpoſe of their accounts, or tranſmit home letters of procuration, upon ſight whereof payment is made them, ſo that there is no manner of trouble or difficulty either to the company or to her ſervants, in adjuſting thoſe accounts.

Theſe freemen are ſuch perſons as have ſerved out the term contracted for, and having received their diſcharge are permitted to live in the country, or ſuch perſons as have been encouraged to come from Europe with intention to trade on their own accounts. Such muſt always have families, and reſide in garriſoned towns, and in their plantations on the ſpice iſlands, where they are allowed to traffic from port to port in proviſions and other commodities, to ſuch places as the company do not trade to, and even to thoſe places, and in the company's commodities, with licence of the

the general and council. Theſe freemen perform the public offices of all towns, and take their turns without exception to watch and ward as in the Netherlands.

The firſt ordinary council of India is choſen by the directors out of ſuch of the company's ſervants as have ſerved in quality of governors or directors, and none under thoſe dignities; thus their chief council conſiſts of perſons of ſubſtance, and who are thoroughly verſant in the affairs of all parts of the Indies. The extraordinary council is alſo choſen by the ſame perſons, and tho' theſe, when at Batavia, ſit with the general and the council, they have no other vote than that of advice. Several of the directors and governors are members of the extraordinary council, and by a late order, three of this body are obliged to reſide at Batavia, and by another order, all the members of the ordinary council are alſo obliged to reſide there, and never to abſent themſelves, except upon buſineſs of great importance only, and the general and chief director are never to leave that capital upon any account, or for any cauſe whatſoever.

The orders of the company are frequently ſent out of Europe cloſe ſealed up, with directions not to be opened but upon extraordinary emergencies, ſuch as the deceaſe of the general, a piece of policy which cauſes the great ones to ſhew each other a great deal of reſpect and deference. The general has power by a particular commiſſion to ſend home any perſon he ſhall think fit belonging to the ordinary council, who ſhall not behave himſelf properly towards him, and to take himſelf what ſalaries or allowances

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he ſhall ſee fit; and the great Matzuyker cauſed this commiſſion to be publickly read on ſome differences which happened in the council of Batavia. The intention of this order is, in all likelihood, to corroborate the dignity and authority of their chief magiſtrate in the Eaſt.

The general, all the members of the ordinary council, the ſecretary, the mayor, the two upper copemen, called the two chief factors, he who keeps the general books of accounts, with their wives and families, live within the fort, in apartments ſuited to their rank and office. The general and council are thus ſituated for the conveniency of buſineſs, all letters being opened and read in council, which commonly ſits in the evening after prayers, and always on Sundays for one hour for the diſpatch of affairs of leſs conſequence, to hear complaints, and receive petitions. Tueſdays and Fridays are conſtantly allotted for the company's affairs. The office of ſecond, or director general, is ſaid to be the moſt laborious of all others, he having the care of all ſhips, goods, monies, and ſtores, and the ordering of all voyages, and the aſſortments proper for each. The two upper copemen, called factors of the caſtle of Batavia, are his aſſiſtants; they are to examine the accounts, and letters of advice, to draw up liſts and calculations of the aſſortments, qualities, quantities of goods, ſold at any place, to mark the increaſe or diminution, loſs or gain thereon, and to tranſmit exact notes of all thoſe particulars to the ſeveral factories where theſe goods are to be provided. Every member of the ordinary council of India, has that charge and employ

employ allotted him wherein he has been moſt verſant, and for which he is beſt qualified; one is ordered to read, examine, and anſwer all letters and papers from the government of Ceylon; another thoſe from the government of Amboyna, Banda and Ternate; another inſpects papers relating to the commerce of the coaſt of Coromandel and the bay of Bengal; another ſuperintends the directorſhip of Surat and Perſia; another the Cape and iſle Mauritias; only the general alone has the management of the correſpondence with the company in Europe.

There are other particular offices and places of truſt and importance at Batavia. 1. The general propoſes all matters in the council, and concludes all the reſolutions, and directs all matters relating to the government of the company, to the council and ſuperior officers. He is ſworn to be faithful to the States in the diſcharge of his function, and that he will never prefer any perſon thro' fear, favour, or affection, and only ſuch as are moſt diſtinguiſhed for their fidelity and abilities in the management of the company's affairs. 2. The director general: this officer determines the diſpoſal, and deſtination, and cargoes of all the company's ſhips, ſells off and diſpoſes of all goods, ſtores, and proviſions, takes charge of the treaſure, and orders all payments, and gives receipts for monies. 3. Another officer has the management of the charity of orphans, and preſides in the chamber eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe, this council conſiſting of the company's ſervants, and the burghers, an equal number of each,

each, and their office and truſt are the ſame as in the Netherlands. The council for this charity ſits once a week. 4. A fourth officer is preſident of the college of juſtice, and he muſt always be a civilian. He gives judgment in all caſes civil and criminal, between the company and their ſervants, or the burghers. None but the ſervants of the company can be of this council, and of thoſe none under the rank of copemen, and are uſually advocates, or ſuch as have been bred up to the ſtudy of the civil law. 5. There is another perſon veſted with the character of preſident of the college of Skepen and burgomaſters. This judge determines in all caſes civil, criminal or military, between the burghers and others. The counſellors, or judges his aſſiſtants, are three upper copemen in the ſervice of the company, and three of the principal burghers. Both of thoſe laſt mentioned courts ſit conſtantly twice a week, and upon extraordinary occaſions oftner. The place of their meeting is the ſtadhouſe or town-houſe. All members of the ordinary council take an oath of fidelity to the governor and the States, that they will prefer no perſon from fear, or affection, but promote thoſe who are found beſt qualified for the diſcharge of the offices in their diſpoſal. The ſecretary of the council at Batavia is a perſon of great abilities and experience, of the rank of upper copeman, takes place next to thoſe of the extraordinary council, and has the pay and allowance of a commandore. The majority of voices in council determines. The fiſcal has a double voice. No perſon is allowed to enter

ter any proteſt, excepting only when the matter determined happens to be contrary to the orders of the company.

Upon any uncommon emergency which requires ſecrecy, the governor or director may aſſemble a council of two or three members only, and may proceed according to their reſolutions. All perſons of the quality of copeman, or upper copeman, as alſo captains and lieutenants, are capacitated to ſit in council in all governments and directions, Batavia excepted. Thoſe called ſeconds, that is to ſay, the next perſon to the governor or director in their particular juriſdictions, are generally copemen, and the chiefs in factories under the direction of ſuperior governments, are for the moſt part either copemen, or under copemen; but if a perſon of higher rank ſhould happen to come to a ſettlement where an inferior officer is chief, the officer of the higheſt quality takes place of the chief, and gives his advice in the affairs of the company, tho' he does not act as a governor or director, without ſpecial commiſſion ſo to do.

All reſolutions in governments or directions are entered in books for that purpoſe, and ſigned by the council; in ſubordinate factories where no council is, they content themſelves with ſuch books as are neceſſary for the purpoſes of the commerce. The office of fiſcal ſeems to be implied in the oath he takes, that he ſhall by all the means in his power diſcover and ſeize all contraband goods, and in general prevent all frauds againſt the intereſt of the company. This officer, who

who is generally of the quality of copeman, or under copeman, is ſeldom above three years in that office, except at Batavia, where the two principal fiſcals, who are of the rank of upper copemen, continue for many years in that employ. The chief of theſe, who is called advocate-fiſcal, takes cognizance of all treſpaſſes, frauds and miſdemeanors in the ſervice of the company, throughout all India, carries on actions for that effect, one half of the fines or profits ariſing therefrom goes into his own pocket, the other to the company, who after the charge of the proceſs is deduced, generally allow one third of their proportion to the poor. Thus the governors, directors, or other perſons, are exempted from any ſuch enquiries.

Every year printed accounts of the ſtate of affairs in Europe are ſent by the company to their eſtabliſhments thro' all India, and their officers are enjoined to behave to the other nations of Europe in the Eaſt, according to the correſpondence of thoſe powers for the time being with the Dutch in the weſtern world. Abſtracts of the rates of their goods in Europe, with the loſs and gain thereon, are alſo ſent them, ſo that the company neglects nothing that can contribute to enable her officers to make the beſt of every conjuncture that can poſſibly happen. Thus every perſon is not only acquainted with the duties of his function, and all the means ſupplyed by which he may be enabled to diſcharge them, but alſo the certain proſpect of advancing his own fortune and rank, contributes in an amazing manner

ner to the ſucceſs of this wiſely conſtituted body of merchants.

The order and management of their fleets is in this manner. All ſhips employed by the company are their own property, and all the men employed in them are in their pay, and ſworn to ſerve them either by ſea or land as occaſion ſhall require. There are two perſons, ſtiled admirals, who are alſo members of the ordinary council of India. The equipage-maſter is an officer of the quality of upper copeman, who has the care of all the ſhipping. This perſon muſt be a ſeafaring man, and is generally called commandore. His office is to direct and provide every thing relating to the conſtruction, repairing, or fitting out of ſhips, and to take care of them in the harbours ſo as that they receive no damage. They have alſo a ſmall fort about three miles diſtant from Batavia, which ſerves for an arſenal, and where are depoſited all manner of naval ſtores, under the charge of a maſter ſhip-builder, who alſo commands in the fort and iſland. This officer is of the quality of upper copeman, and has large pay and allowance. When any fleet of war-ſhips is ſent out on any expedition, the perſon appointed admiral or general, is for the moſt part a merchant of the quality of upper copeman, and ſometimes one of the extraordinary council, and he has a council of merchants or military officers to aſſiſt him as occaſion requires. Thoſe who go as admirals of the fleets ſent from Batavia to Europe, are ſuch perſons as have ſerved in quality of governors, directors, commanders, or upper

copemen, and are willing to return home. Their ſalaries are paid them till the day of their diſcharge from the ſervice. If no perſon is willing to return, then in that caſe, one of the rank of copeman at leaſt, is ordered for that ſervice, who may return again, if he ſo chooſes.

As to the command of their ſhips ſent from Europe, the ſquadrons of two chambers have it by turns. The ſquadron of the chamber of Amſterdam, which of itſelf has two fourths of the capital ſtock of the company, and which including the ſtocks of the inferior chambers who adhere to it, contributes three fourths of the funds, for that reaſon carries the flag of command for three years, and that of Zealand, which furniſhes alone one fourth, carries the flag every fourth year; the merchant who has the command muſt take his paſſage upon a ſhip of one of thoſe two ſquadrons. When a copeman or under copeman goes from port to port on board one of the company's ſhips, he commands in her, as alſo all the ſhips in company. When a fleet ſails under a commodore, his council is to conſiſt of copemen and ſkeepers. In the caſe of a ſingle ſhip at ſea, the council is to conſiſt of the copeman, ſkeeper, under copeman, book-keeper and ſteerſman, and they are ever to purſue the courſe marked out by the printed directions, and to ſet off their work every day upon the charts which are delivered up the very day of their arrival in Holland or at Batavia.

There is beſides in every ſhip a perſon of the rank of under copeman or book-keeper, in the nature

nature of a purſer with us, who keeps an account of the ſhip's expences, ſtores, proviſions, men's wages; he is to take care that no embezzlements are made in the diſtribution of thoſe articles. Theſe are generally taken out of factories, and take place according to their rank and capacity at the time of their tranſlation. This perſon, tho' no more than an aſſiſtant at the time of his being promoted, takes place of the ſteerſmen, next to the ſkeeper, on account of his office, or, as the Dutch term it, the pen. All chiefs or heads of factories may diſpoſe of all ſhips and perſons under their chiefſhip, as the ſervice requires; and they may alſo take out men, proviſions and ſtores, notwithſtanding that the ſhips whence they are ſo taken, may have come there thro' accident or neceſſity only.

The concerns of the poor in India are thus regulated. There is at Batavia, and all governments, a body called the chamber of orphans, and a council conſiſting of one half the ſervants of the company of the quality of copemen or upper copemen, and one half principal burghers, beſides a ſecretary and other aſſiſtants. They ſit once a-week, and have the abſolute diſpoſal of orphans, and eſtates of deceaſed perſons. At Policat, and in all the governments under Batavia, there are only two perſons of the chamber of orphans, and a ſecretary, all of them the ſervants of the company. The chambers in thoſe governments are not accountable to any others either in Batavia or Holland, and the eſtates of perſons who deceaſe in that particular government, are

under their charge, and their wills, inventories, and accounts, are there regiſtered. They are to keep fair and diſtinct books of their tranſactions, and thoſe books are by the maſter of the orphans chamber at Policat, to be preſented before the governor every three months for his inſpection. Thoſe appointed for this office generally continue in it two years or longer, and in caſe of a vacancy, the remaining incumbent is obliged to continue a year longer in office to inſtruct him who ſucceeds. They take an oath to diſcharge their function with juſtice, and to keep ſecret the concerns of the chamber.

The ſecretary muſt give three thouſand pagodas ſecurity for the performance of his truſt, and is reſponſible for all goods ſold at outcries, for which he receives three per cent. He may alſo deny any man to offer at thoſe ſales, or to buy, if he doubts of his capacity to pay. The chamber of orphans may call upon any perſon whatever to aſſiſt with their advice in difficult matters, and no perſon, not even the governor, is at liberty to refuſe his attendance. This council is allowed two and an half per cent. out of the ſales of the goods of the deceaſed, but nothing is received for ſums of money left in caſh. The above premium is equally divided betwixt the preſident and maſters. This chamber takes charge of all orphans, as alſo the management of their eſtate, and their education, till the age of twenty-three, when whatever was left them is given into their hands with increaſe and intereſt thereof till that time. And in caſe their eſtates are in Europe,

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the chamber cauſes all their effects, or the value of them, to be ſent them. This council lend the ſums in their hands to the company's cheſt at Batavia, for which they receive nine per cent. intereſt, and is depoſited with freemen or others, upon ſufficient ſecurity, at twelve per cent. per annum, tho' at Policat the company uſually pay ſix per cent. for ſuch monies only. In caſe a perſon dies without heirs in India, or inteſtate, that is to ſay, without making any will, this chamber takes care of his effects till ſuch time as the next heir demands them. The chamber may alſo require an eſtate from a widow to whom it has been left in truſt for her children, and keep it for them: and even when they leave the mother in poſſeſſion of this truſt, they never fail to take a copy of the will, and to take her obligation for the ſame. Tho' they may keep and manage any orphan's eſtate at pleaſure, yet they do commonly put it into the company's hands, taking their obligation for it. Every child receives a full proportion of his father's eſtate as the law enjoins, notwithſtanding any will to the contrary. When a man in the ſervice of the company dies, the official is not permitted to touch his papers, nor is the chamber obliged to make any declaration of his concerns to the fiſcals of the company, and if money is due to him for wages, the chamber receives it for the account of the heirs of the deceaſed. The poor are by the company not only intitled to one third of their ſhare of confiſcations for contraband traffic, or miſdemeanors, but alſo to

fines for offences, and the confiſcations of the eſtates of thoſe condemned to capital puniſhment. There are beſides many overſeers of the poor at Batavia, and alſo at other places, and theſe have cognizance of all poor chriſtians under the government of the company, of whatever nation they be, and make collections every Sunday for their relief, each perſon receiving in proportion to their neceſſities. The poor have always a conſiderable ſtock before-hand ariſing from confiſcations and charitable benefactions, which is lent out to the company at intereſt, and this intereſt they employ for their occaſional wants. And tho' the intereſt of their capital is already ſufficient to ſupport them, the weekly collections are however conſtantly made in order to provide againſt all diſaſters, whether thro' wars, misfortunes, great mortality, or any other cauſe whatſoever. Theſe overſeers of the poor are to keep fair and exact accounts of all their tranſactions whether receipts or payments, with a liſt of all ſuch as receive the benefit of this charity.

After ſurveying this plan of the Dutch policy in the Indies, it will be no difficult matter to conceive in what manner they have raiſed to themſelves ſo powerful and extenſive an empire in the Eaſt, and that the advantages they poſſeſs over all other nations in thoſe parts, are the effect of a moſt wiſe and juſt eſtabliſhment, and a plan conſtantly purſued without the leaſt deviation.

Notwithſtanding the ſplendor and magnificence

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and high power with which their general is inveſted, he is obliged to a perpetual application to buſineſs, from which there is no manner of reſpite allowed him; and the ſame thing holds true with reſpect to the director-general, and the other members of the council of the Indies, who have as much more buſineſs to manage as their appointments are above thoſe of other officers, and who are obliged to make the ſtricteſt account in what manner they exerciſe the vaſt power and authority committed unto them. By thoſe examples, all their other officers are obliged to a conſtant and careful diſcharge of the duties of their reſpective functions, and from which they can never hope to be exempted, when they ſee the perſons inveſted with the higheſt dignities and authority, obliged to a ſtricter and more laborious application than themſelves. And the care of the affairs of their ſervants, with the encouragement given to thoſe who merit well of the company, are circumſtances of the higheſt importance and advantage to this intereſt, as well as that laudable frugality and œconomy in the charge of all their eſtabliſhments, and the care taken to preſerve the proper ſubordination to the republic, all which may be ſaid to be thoſe arts by which ſo noble a fabric was firſt reared, and afterwards augmented and preſerved in all its magnificence and vigour. To ſay nothing of their ſtrict care, that the children of ſuch perſons as die in the ſervice of the company ſhall enjoy the fruits of their parents labour, which promotes

induſtry, and by encouraging marriages, multiplies their ſubjects without exhauſting the mother country: how laudable is that care for the poor, by which the unfortunate are ſecured in the enjoyment of the advantages of their birthright, as citizens and denizens of the republic of the United Provinces, in the moſt remote climates! No wonder ſuch a people ſhould in the extremities of the earth preſerve unchanged their affection for a country, from whom they receive ſuch marks of the moſt tender care and indulgence!

I ſhall now proceed to lay before my readers the œconomy of this flouriſhing company at home, in order at once to ſhew the profits ariſing from this lucrative commerce; the methods purſued to ſatisfy every proprietor in the fulleſt manner, that ſuch profits are diſtributed with the ſtricteſt regard to juſtice, by the perſons entruſted with the direction of their affairs; in what manner the republic of the Seven United Provinces preſerves her proper weight and authority, by which ſhe not only maintains her own rights, but alſo provides for the advantage and ſecurity of this corporation; finally, to enable the reader to make a juſt eſtimate of the advantages of this trading ſociety to her mother country, and of the wealth ſhe has drawn from this foundation, from the æra of its eſtabliſhment to a very late period.

The original and primary ſtock or funds of the Dutch company for the commerce of the remote Eaſtern countries, conſiſted of the ſum of

of ſix millions four hundred fifty-nine thouſand eight hundred and forty florins. This ſum was raiſed in this manner.

Amſterdam furniſhed	Florins,	3,674,915
Zealand — — —		1,333,882
Delft — —		470,000
Rotterdam — —		177,400
Horn — — —		266,868
Enchuyſen — —		536,775
		6,459,840

In each of the above places a chamber was ſettled, that for Zealand being ſeated in Middleburgh, and from thoſe are choſen the ſeventeen deputies or directors, who manage the affairs of the company. They meet four times a year ſucceſſively at Amſterdam, and twice alternately at Middleburgh, but not at all at any of the other towns. Theſe deputies, which form the ſovereign council of the company, tho' they are ſubject to the authority of the States General, are choſen in the following manner. The chamber of Amſterdam ſends eight members; that of Zealand four; Delft, Rotterdam, Horn, and Enchuyſen, one each; and theſe places, the Maes, Middleburgh, and North Holland, chuſe one a piece, by turns. The plurality of voices determines in this council, which repreſents the ſovereignty of the whole body, and which regulates and orders all matters of importance, ſuch as creating or appointing of counſellors, captains, or other officers, the equipment of ſhips,

ſhips, the ſale of all goods, the diſtribution of the profits and dividends; in all which matters, as well as in every thing elſe, the particular chambers are obliged to a perfect compliance with their orders. 'Tis by their appointment alſo that the time is fixt for the ſale of goods, in reſpect of which the ſame regard is had to juſtice, and the proportion of the ſtocks of the particular chambers, as in the choice of the directors. Thus one half of all goods is ſold in the chamber of Amſterdam; in that of Middleburgh, one fourth; and in each of the four chambers remaining, one ſixteenth part of the goods, which become the property of the higheſt bidder.

There are alſo other deputies belonging to the reſpective chambers, beſides the ſeventeen already mentioned which are ſent to the ſovereign court. Of theſe laſt the city of Amſterdam has ten, beſides the former eight; and Haerlem, Leyden, Utrecht, Dort and Tergoe, ſend each of them one member; as the provinces of Guelderland and Frizeland, and Zealand, beſides the four members already mentioned, have eight or ten more, from the ſeveral towns in thoſe provinces. All thoſe deputies are to give their advice in their reſpective chambers, and in caſe of the deceaſe of any member, the town to which he belongs chuſe three others, from whom the magiſtrates chooſe him who is to ſit as deputy. The preſident of this committee, which meets twice a week, continues in office for a month, every one poſſeſſing this place in his turn. There are two advocates,

vocates, whoſe duty is to tranſmit all the reſolutions of the company to their officers in the Indies, who act in conſequence of thoſe advices. Eight of thoſe deputies have the management of what relates to the marine, to war, and to the building of ſhips; four others have the inſpection of the magazines, and the care of all goods whether arrived from or ſent to the Indies; four keep the monies of the company, and the remaining deputies are entruſted with the keeping the accounts and other affairs relating to order, and with the diſtribution of juſtice, which they diſpenſe with a wonderful impartiality and integrity, the greateſt officers of the company having in matters of right no manner of regard paid him beyond that which is ſhewn to the meaneſt mariner in the ſervice.

There are other regulations which prevent the company from becoming a body ſeparated from the ſtate and independent on its authority; ſuch as, that two relations never ſhall be admitted into the court of directors, by which all unjuſt or clandeſtine combinations are taken away, which convert all public deſigns into private jobs, by which a few particulars are enriched at the expence of the public weal. At the end of every three years the States General command an account of all the tranſactions of the company to be laid before them, when a ſtrict ſcrutiny is made, that they do not tranſgreſs the bounds or conceſſions in their charter, that the proprietors are not defrauded out of any part of their right, that this traffic be purſued without

without detriment to the common weal of the republic, all which regulations having a ſurpriſing good effect on the affairs of this ſociety. Formerly the committee appointed to this ſcrutiny, uſed to go to Amſterdam, where they took up a conſiderable time in the performance of their truſt, and were maintained all this while at the company's expence. But upon the remonſtrance of the company, they were permitted (in 1728) to ſend a deputation to the Hague in order to preſent their accounts for the inſpection of the States.

The order obſerved in the company's magazines is perfectly ſurprizing, and thoſe who are entruſted with the care of this part of their concerns, are obliged to find ſecurity in a conſiderable ſum for their integrity, and the due diſcharge of their office, the leaſt breach of which is puniſhed with the moſt examplary ſeverity, a conduct obſerved with reſpect to every individual perſon in their ſervice, the directors themſelves not being exempted from receiving a puniſhment ſtill more ſevere than others, upon the ſmalleſt fraud committed. Thus every thing is conducted with the greateſt care, application, and order, in all the different branches of their affairs, a remarkable inſtance whereof may be ſeen in their dock-yard, where their ſhips are built and refitted, in which, notwithſtanding that twelve hundred perſons are conſtantly employed in it, there is as much order preſerved as in that of any private builder poſſibly can be.

They are ſaid to encourage ſuch ſailors as return

turn from the Indies in the diſſipation of what they have gotten in the voyage, who by favour of the company's indulgence in this particular ſoon reduce themſelves to their original indigence, and thus lay themſelves under the neceſſity of entering again into the ſervice, where a ſailor uſed to the burning heats of thoſe climes is preferred to any other. All perſons employed in the ſervice undergo an examination, that the company may be ſatisfied of their being qualified for the ſtations for which they are candidates, and diſpenſations thro' intereſt or favour are very rarely allowed of.

The original actions or ſtocks of this company conſiſted of the ſum of three thouſand florins, that is to ſay, a perſon poſſeſſed of this ſum in the ſtock or funds of the company, had one action, and ſo of other ſums. At this day an action is worth from twenty-five to twenty-ſix thouſand florins, which vary in their value in proportion as the dividends made upon the capital to the proprietors, are ſold at a higher or under price. No perſon can be a director, but ſuch as have two actions at leaſt in the company's funds, and none can have a voice in the election of directors, but ſuch as poſſeſs one action in the ſtock of this ſociety. The ſalary of the directors vary according to the chamber to which they belong. Thoſe of the chamber of Amſterdam have appointments of three thouſand florins per annum, tho' thoſe of ſome other chambers have no more than twelve hundred.

Nothing

Nothing can be eaſier or more expeditious than the manner of buying or diſpoſing of ſtocks in this company. As ſoon as the price is agreed upon, the parties repair to the India houſe, where the ſeller deſires the clerk of the book in which his ſtock is entered, to transfer ſuch a ſum from his account to that of the buyer, which he then ſigns, as alſo a receipt for the price received for ſuch ſtock, which tranſaction muſt paſs in preſence of a director, who muſt alſo ſign the whole, and thus all poſſibility of fraud is taken away. The expence of this transfer amounts to about ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence ſterling. Notwithſtanding that the directors ſettle the time of ſales, and alſo the quantity and quality of the goods to be ſold, dividing the profits ariſing from ſuch ſales amongſt the proprietors, yet they have never at any ſale divided the entire profits, and that for reaſons extremely ſolid. For firſt, there is a neceſſity for reſerving ſome part of theſe profits, for the expences of their governments, for long wars and expenſive expeditions and equipments, and alſo to prevent the ſinking of their credit by any ſudden loſſes, or from other cauſes. Beſides the renewal of their charter, and other favours and graces from the ſtate, may be ſaid to have been obtained at no ſmall expence to this ſociety. It has moreover been deemed expedient, to have a conſiderable treaſure depoſited in bank, to anſwer the exigences of the ſtate as well as thoſe of the company. And not only ſo, but there has frequently been a neceſſity to reſerve, and

ſometimes

ſometimes even to deſtroy, great quantities of ſpices, and other valuable commodities, in order to prevent the ſinking of the value of thoſe articles. They have alſo ſometimes paid their proprietors their proportions in cloves, mace, and nutmegs, at a low price, by which the perſons ſo paid, have gained great profits.

The following account of the dividends made by this company for a conſiderable number of years, will contribute more than any thing to give an accurate idea of its importance, and of the flouriſhing condition in which it has always ſubſiſted.

Table of the dividends of the Dutch Eaſt-India company from the year ſixteen hundred and five inclusive.

Time of Sales.	Proportions paid, and in what.	
1605 July the 1ſt, was paid	15	per cent. in money.
6 March — —	75	
7 July — —	40	
8 April — —	20	
9 June — —	25	
10 April — —	75	in mace.
November —	50	in pepper.
	7½	in money.
12 December —	57½	
15 Auguſt — —	42½	
16 February — —	62½	
20 April — —	37½	
23 November — —	25	in cloves.

1625 Auguſt

Time of Sales.		Proportions paid, and in what.	
1625	Auguſt	20	
27	March	12½	per cent.
29	January	25	in money.
31	January	17½	
33	December	20	
35	March	20	
	May	12½	
	Auguſt	12	
36	March	25	in cloves.
	November	12½	
37	March	15	
	November	25	
38	October	19	in ſpices.
	November	25	
40	January	15	in cloves.
	November	25	in money.
41	February	15	in ſpices.
	November	25	
42	December	50	
43	January	15	
44	November	25	
	December	20	
46	January	22½	in money.
	December	25	
48	January	25	
49	ditto	30	
50	ditto	20	
51	ditto	25	
52	ditto	15	
53	ditto	12½	
54	June	15	

1655 January

Time of Sales.		Proportions paid, and in what.	
1655	January	12½	per cent. in money.
56	December	27½	
58	ditto	40	
59	ditto	12½	
60	November	40	
61	ditto	25	
63	ditto	30	
65	January	27½	
68	June	12½	
69	July	12½	
70	June	40	
71	ditto	45	
	July	15	
72	June	15	
73	June	33⅓	in bonds payable by the province of Holland.
76	February	12½	in bonds at 4 per cent.
79	January	25	Ditto on the province of Holland.
80	January	25	in company's bonds.
81	ditto	22½	
82	July	33⅓	

Time of Sales.		Proportions paid, and in what.	
1685	February	40	per cent. in money.
86	May	12½	
87	April	20	
88	ditto	33⅓	
89	ditto	33⅓	
90	ditto	40	in bonds of the company at 3 per cent. payable in 1740.
91	Auguſt	20	
92	April	25	
93	ditto	20	
94	ditto	20	
95	November	25	ditto at 3 per cent. payable alſo in 1740.
96	June	15	
98	ditto	15	
	September	15	per cent. in money.
99	June	20	
	December	15	
1700	July	25	
1	May	20	
2	ditto	20	
3	ditto	25	
4	June	25	
5	May	25	
6	ditto	25	
7	April	25	
8	May	25	
9	ditto	25	
10	ditto	25	
11	ditto	25	

1712 May

Time of Sales.		Proportions paid, and in what.	
1712	May	15	
13	ditto	30	
14	ditto	33⅓	
15	April	40	
16	May	40	
17	ditto	40	
18	ditto	40	
19	ditto	40	per cent.
20	ditto	40	in money.
21	June	33⅓	
22	May	30	
23	ditto	12½	
24	ditto	15	
25	ditto	20	
26	June	25	
27	May	20	
28	ditto	15	
The whole amounting to		2784	per cent.

Thus one year with another the proprietors of this ſtock have received a profit of ſomewhat more than twenty-four per cent. per annum, a prodigious acquiſition of wealth (the conſumpt of the nation only excepted) to the Dutch republic, and it is even an advantage to have this conſumpt, the only cauſe of objection to this traffic, ſupplied by the citizens of the commonwealth; and at leaſt a leſs evil, that the ſtates of Aſia ſhould be enriched by the luxury of the

people, than that neighbouring countries by ſupplying them with thoſe articles allowed by all to be pernicious, ſhould have it in their power to invade and maintain a war againſt a ſtate, by the force of that money which their own ſupineneſs in neglecting the India trade might ſuffer ſuch neighbours to rob them of. The amount of the dividends of the company in the year ſixteen hundred and eighteen are ſaid to have extended to no leſs than eighteen millions ſterling, a prodigious profit ariſing from ſix millions and a half of florins, a ſum equal to no more than ſix hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling nearly.

THE HISTORY OF THE COMMERCE OF THE EAST-INDIES.

BOOK III.

History of the Trade of Great Britain *to the* East-Indies.

NEXT to the Dutch, the Engliſh nation is juſtly reputed to poſſeſs the greateſt ſhare in the commerce to the Indies. Thoſe countries were not unknown to this iſland in ancient times. As far back as the reign of the great Alfred, a

prince whoſe glory will ever adorn the annals of England, the charity of this magnanimous king ſent one Sighelmus to carry alms to relieve certain poor chriſtians in the Indies. This perſon executed the commiſſion of the king, and at his death, left in the treaſury of the church of Shireburn of which he had been made biſhop, a great quantity of ſpices and jewels, an unqueſtionable proof of the certainty of this fact. However, it is far from being true, that there was any kind of direct commerce between the people of this nation and thoſe remote kingdoms. On the contrary, we knew nothing of the produce of India but thro' the conveyance of the Venetians, who, from the time that the northern barbarians had overthrown the Roman empire, and together with it all the traffic of the Eaſt, which had changed its channel from Alexandria to Trebezon, Damaſcus and Aleppo, had with Genoa, Piſa, and other free cities, poſſeſſed themſelves of this rich commerce. An annual ſhip of prodigious burthen ſupplied this country with theſe rich commodities. Theſe goods, which the Venetians had in their power to give us at their own price, coſt this nation an infinite deal of treaſure. And in this condition did this traffic ſubſiſt and continue till the time of queen Elizabeth, when one of their caracks, a ſhip of vaſt burthen, was ſhipwrecked on the iſle of Wight. The ſight of ſo immenſe a cargo, which was then loſt, whetted the ardor of the merchants to attempt the trade to Turkey, the only route by which all that traffic was carried on in thoſe days.

days. This accident gave birth and exiſtence to this new trade by way of the Levant.

The original of the Eaſt-India trade of Great Britain directly to thoſe remote lands, that is to ſay, thro' the ocean, was this. Queen Elizabeth, tho' ſhe had procured her ſubjects the liberty of trading to Turkey for thoſe Eaſt-India commodities with which the Venetians as above were wont to furniſh us, was ſenſible that ſomething greater was ſtill wanting to the Engliſh commerce. One Thorne, a merchant of London, who traded to Seville, having by his long reſidence in that city gained a perfect knowledge of the Eaſt-India trade, repreſented to Henry VIII. what infinite advantages his kingdom might reap from this traffic, adding how glorious ſuch an enterprize would be for the king of England, not only to carry on the lucrative trade of the Indies by his own people, but alſo to rival the Portugueze by purſuing it like them by a way hitherto unknown to others, which was that of the North.

This paſſage by the North, whereof the difficulties have never as yet been ſurmounted, was treated as a project too hazardous to be attempted. So that Mr. Thorne's ſcheme being rejected, Sir Francis Drake had the honour to be conſidered as he whoſe information gave birth to this trade, as the lights and informations he communicated were of a more ſolid nature, as being derived from experience and his own knowledge. This was in the year MDLXXVIII. The following year Stephens went into the Indies by the route

of the Portugueze round the Cape of Good Hope, and ſent a full account of what he had ſeen in his voyage from Goa where he then reſided. The voyage of the famous Candiſhe round the world in the year MDLXXXVI opened a certain paſſage into the Eaſt; and in MDXC three ſhips under captain George Raymond ſailed into the Indies with deſign to cruize upon the Portugueze. Of this ſmall ſquadron not one ſhip returned, except one that had been ſent back from the Cape of Good Hope with the ſick, and which had never been in the Indies.

Though no ſhips had been ſent into the Eaſt in this period by the Engliſh on account of traffic, yet numbers of Engliſh ſailors had been in thoſe parts in the ſervice of foreigners. Theſe men returning into their own country, gave a perfect account of thoſe parts, adding that Engliſh factories might be eſtabliſhed, and a trade carried on thither with the greateſt facility imaginable. This occaſioned many rich men, as well merchants as the nobility and others, to apply to the queen (Elizabeth) for a charter empowering them to undertake this trade. Their requeſt was granted in December MDC, which was the forty-third of her reign.

By this charter they were created a body corporate, under the title of THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF LONDON TRADING TO THE EAST-INDIES. A common ſeal was granted them; Thomas Smyth, eſquire, alderman of London, was appointed their firſt governor, and a court

of

of directors eſtabliſhed to be choſen, on, or within ſix days after, the firſt day of July yearly. They were alſo empowered to make by-laws, to export goods free of cuſtom for four years, to export to the amount of thirty thouſand pounds in foreign coin, with licence to do the ſame every voyage, provided they brought into the kingdom the like ſum ariſing from goods exported into foreign countries. This charter excluded all others from this traffic, and the queen obliged herſelf not to grant any charter to other merchants for the term of fifteen conſecutive years; but with this proviſo, that if within that ſpace this charter ſhould appear to be in any reſpect detrimental to the public, it ſhould upon two years warning under the privy-ſeal, become null and void. But if experience ſhould make it appear, that this new corporation was for the weal and benefit of this nation, that then ſhe laid herſelf under the obligation of a promiſe, not only to renew their charter, but to add ſuch other clauſes and graces, as ſhould appear moſt conducive to the advantage of this commerce, to the good of the undertakers, and to the benefit and intereſt of the kingdom in general, the true end of all public enterprizes.

In conſequence of this charter, a joint ſtock was began to be raiſed for carrying this ſcheme into execution; and ſo much was it reliſhed, that in a very ſhort time ſeventy-two thouſand pounds were paid into their treaſurer's hands. Wherefore five ſtout ſhips were fitted out in order to make the firſt attempt in the new commerce of the Eaſt. Theſe were the Dragon of

ſix

ſix hundred tuns burthen; this was the admiral; the Hector, vice-admiral, of three hundred; the Aſcenſion, alſo of three hundred; and the Gueſt, a ſtore ſhip, of one hundred and thirty. This fleet, which coſt forty five thouſand pounds equipping, was manned with four hundred and eighty men, and carried a cargo of twenty-ſeven thouſand pounds value, firſt purchaſe in England, the whole amounting to ſeventy-two thouſand pounds, the entire capital of this new company. The ſucceſs of the expedition was equal to the expectations of the adventurers: captain James Lancaſter, after a proſperous voyage to the Indies, concluded a treaty with the king of Achen, ſent a veſſel to trade to the Moluccos, and erected a factory in the iſland of Java; which done, he returned to England after a happy navigation, with conſiderable profits for his employers.

Soon after king James ſucceeding to the throne of England, gave this new eſtabliſhment all the countenance ſhewn it by his predeceſſor, which together with the profits of the late voyage determined them to make a freſh attempt. In 1604 Sir Henry Middleton was pitched upon to command in this expedition, in which three ſhips were ſent out with proper aſſortments. The admiral viſited the Molucco iſlands, and alſo that of Java, all the princes of thoſe parts ſhewing him the greateſt civility and reſpect. The Dutch did not obſerve an equal conduct with reſpect to their old allies. They looked with jealous eyes on the attempts of a nation, whoſe advan-

advantages and talents for trade were at leaſt equal to their own; wherefore they began to practiſe the ſame arts with regard to the Engliſh which the Portugueze had formerly made uſe of againſt themſelves, that is to ſay, they employed all their induſtry in ſcandalizing and calumniating the Engliſh nation amongſt the Indian princes, repreſenting them as a cruel, perfidious, and domineering people, whoſe buſineſs in the Eaſt was very different from that of trade, their thoughts being bent upon nothing leſs than the enſlaving of thoſe countries who admitted them. This conduct of the Dutch towards our countrymen in the infancy of their Indian commerce, was what gave occaſion to thoſe diſputes that enſued between the two nations. Sir Henry Middleton ſet ſail from Bantam, with letters and preſents for the king (James I.) and arrived in the Downs in May MDCVI, having loſt one of his ſhips and abundance of his men. The year following a third equipment was made, and captain Keeling was diſpatched into the Eaſt with three ſhips. In ſpite of all the oppoſition of the Dutch, who again diſturbed the Engliſh traders, this voyage was ſignally ſucceſsful, eſpecially at the Moluccos, where thoſe republicans did all that in them lay to diſguſt them at their new commerce. They returned to England with a rich loading of all ſorts of ſpices, and arrived in the Downs in May MDCX, and, what is a very ſingular inſtance of good fortune in ſo long a voyage, without the loſs of ſo much as one man. Captain William Hawkins

kins had been ſent out with this fleet, in quality of ambaſſador, to ſettle a treaty of friendſhip and commerce with the Great Mogul, which commiſſion he executed with great prudence and ſucceſs. Two ſhips had been ſent out to the coaſts of Arabia and the Red-ſea, in the year MDCVII, with indifferent ſucceſs. And two years afterwards captain Middleton was ſent to the Moluccos, where the Dutch formed the deſign of ſeizing his ſhip. Notwithſtanding, he had the addreſs to eſcape this ſnare, and ſet out for England with a prodigious rich cargo. He is ſaid to have brought home for the account of his employers, one hundred and thirty-nine tons of nutmegs, the ſame quantity of mace, beſides pepper and other valuable commodities.

This ſucceſs of the company, and the money they ſaved to the nation, which foreigners were wont to drain from it by ſupplying us with thoſe commodities, not to reckon what it gained by the exportation of her manufactures and produce, and of goods of the produce and manufacture of India ſold to other European nations, all theſe were ſo many arguments with the king to countenance a company that appeared to be ſo beneficial to the public. Whereſore upon their firſt application, (in May 1609) he conſented to enlarge their charter to what extent they deſired, and to render thoſe advantages perpetual. The company ſeeing ſuch hopes of enjoying the fruits of ſo many advances, began to build their own ſhips, which they had formerly been

been in uſe to purchaſe ready built in ſome of the Hanſe towns, a conſiderable advantage of itſelf to them and to the nation in general. The firſt attempt in this new art of naval architecture, was at the ſame time a monument of the company's wealth, and of their ſpirit for commerce. This fine ſhip was fitted to carry a loading of one thouſand and two hundred tons, and is ſaid by Engliſh writers to have been the firſt ſhip of great burthen ever built on this ſide the ſeas. A pinnace which carried a burthen of two hundred and fifty tons, was alſo built at the ſame time; ſhe was to ſail as tender to the other. This was then looked upon as a matter of ſo much moment and utility to the public, that the king and prince of Wales, with a great number of the principal nobility, were preſent at the launching of theſe great Britiſh-built ſhips; and ſo great was the public joy on this occaſion, that all the rich utenſils made uſe of at the entertainments on board of them, were left to be taken away by thoſe who waited at table, or to whoever elſe had an inclination for them. The greater veſſel was named by his majeſty the Trade's Increaſe, the pinnace was called the Pepper-corn. Both of them were equipped to ſea, with two others in company, in the ſpring following, the whole expence amounting to eighty thouſand pounds ſterling. Sir Henry Middleton commanded in this expedition. Soon after followed a ſingle ſhip; and in the ſpring of the year 1711, three ſhips were ſent out under the

the command of captain John Saris, the expence of which equipment amounted to three-ſcore thouſand pounds.

A new inconvenience attended thoſe proſperities; the Portugueze did all that lay in their power to hinder the Engliſh commerce on the coaſts of India. Wherefore the company were obliged to expend more treaſure upon the fitting out of the next ſquadron, which put to ſea in the year above mentioned. The largeſt of the four ſhips fitted out for this expedition, commanded by captain Thomas Beſt, arrived ſafe at Surat, where he ſettled a factory. This negotiation was ſcarce compleated, when the viceroy of Goa, hearing of what had paſſed, fitted out a ſtrong fleet to fall upon him. This armament conſiſted of four great ſhips, called galleons, beſides twenty-ſix gallies, aboard of which were five thouſand men, with an hundred and thirty pieces of great ordnance. Beſt was not ſhaken with ſo terrible a power, but reſolved with his own ſhip and a ſmall pinnace only, to attempt or ſuffer every thing in defence of his new eſtabliſhment. He accordingly engaged the Portugueze fleet, and had the honour to triumph over an enemy ſo ſuperior to him, after having killed twelve hundred of their men. From henceforward the Portugueze have never dared to moleſt the Engliſh on the coaſt of India. The brave Engliſh captain, after making the beſt uſe of his victory for the proſperity of the factory, ſet ſail for the iſland of Java, where he took

took on board a rich cargo, and ſet out for London, at which metropolis he arrived ſafe in the month of July in the year 1614.

Captain Saris alſo returned in this year, his ſhips being likewiſe freighted with immenſe riches. Sir Thomas Smyth, the then governor of the company, was employed to remonſtrate to the king, that it were not only for the advantage of the company's affairs, but alſo highly for the honour of the nation, if a perſon of rank and diſtinction were ſent to the court of the Mogul emperor, veſted with the character of ambaſſador, inſtead of the agent the company had ſent to the court of that monarch. Wherefore Sir Thomas Roe was ſent out in this high quality, and captain Keeling was ordered to ſea with four fine ſhips to convoy him to India, where he was ſafely landed, and afterwards performed the orders of his commiſſion with great ſucceſs. The company began now to extend her power, and the ſovereignty of her mother country, over different parts in India. The iſland of Banda was by their induſtry procured to the crown of England, the inhabitants ſurrendering it by a formal inſtrument. This right did not prevent the Dutch from attempting to reduce thoſe places under their own power, they pretending in the mean while that their title and claim were of a higher and more ancient date. At the ſame time the Engliſh procured the ſurrender of Lantore, by a like ſolemn inſtrument, which was dated on the twenty-fourth day of November 1620.

Theſe

Theſe proceedings, which promiſed great advantages for the company by ſecuring a large portion of the ſpice trade, ſerved only to haſten her deſtruction. The accounts of the differences betwixt the two companies of the ſeveral nations arriving in Europe, negociations were ſet on foot for the ſettling thoſe mercantile affairs. For this purpoſe there had been iſſued by king James two ſeveral commiſſions for treaties on this head, the one in the year 1613, when the conferences were held in London, and the ſecond in 1615, when this affair was canvaſſed at the Hague, both times to no manner of purpoſe. So that there was a neceſſity for a new negociation, which was begun in the year 1619, and was managed by commiſſioners appointed by the India companies of both nations, under the direction of the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the States General. On the ſeventh of July, an agreement was ſigned, by which it was ſtipulated, that all former injuries ſhould be forgotten on both ſides; that the companies of either nation might enjoy full and perfect liberty to trade, but without forgetting the reſpect due to the trading companies of two nations joined in amity and alliances; that the price of pepper and other ſpices ſhould be adjuſted; that the iſlands of the Moluccos, as alſo Banda and Amboyna, ſhould belong to the Engliſh and Dutch conjointly, the former poſſeſſing one third of all the traffic of thoſe places, and the latter the remaining two thirds; that the charge of the fortifications in thoſe iſlands ſhould be levied by an impoſition

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on ſpices of their growth; and that what related to the fitting out ſhips of war or others for their defence, ſhould be committed to a council of defence, compoſed of perſons in the ſervice of the different companies; that the fortreſſes as above ſhould remain in the keeping of thoſe preſently in poſſeſſion of them, and that ſuch ſtrengths as had been acquired by the common expence or arms of both companies, ſhould remain the common property of both, and be garriſoned by the troops of both nations in ſuch manner as the council of defence ſhould ſee fit and determine. That in all time to come, the entire trade to India ſhould remain free to both nations equally, and that neither ſhould undermine the other by building ſeparate fortifications, or by underhand treaties with the Indians; that in order to corroborate and confirm this contract, both companies ſhould reſpectively ſollicit and move their ſeveral governments, not to erect any ſeparate companies, during the period fixed for the obſervance of this ſolemn agreement; that if, thro' death or any other accident it ſhould ſo happen as that no perſon ſhould remain to take care of the factories of either nation, that then, and in that caſe, thoſe of the other nation in the place ſhould take into their care, and account for all the effects ſo left; and finally, that this treaty ſhould remain in force for twenty conſecutive years, and that all diſputes which ſhould ariſe in the time of its continuance, and which ſhould not be accommodated by the councils of the companies, ſhould be ſettled and

determined by the king of Great Britain, and by the States General of the United Provinces. This treaty was ratified by king James in July 1619, in which inſtrument the king promiſed not to grant any charter to any other perſons whatſoever, during the term mentioned in this agreement.

This tranſaction made it be believed that all diſputes with the Dutch were at an end, at leaſt for twenty years to come. But this was far from being the caſe; the Dutch taking the firſt opportunity to reduce thoſe perſons whom they had juſt engaged by the moſt ſolemn obligation to defend. Their general in India got together a great fleet, with which he attacked Lantore, and having overcome the people of the country, proceeded to commit the moſt horrid outrages. They next ſet fire to the town, pillaged all the warehouſes of the Engliſh company, ſtuffs, money, bullion, all was made prize of, and with thoſe there were carried off twenty-three thouſand pounds weight of mace, and one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds of nutmegs. From plunder the victors proceeded to the laſt acts of inhuman barbarity, the factors of the Engliſh company were ſeized, ſtripped naked, bound with cords, or loaden with irons, and after being moſt unmercifully beaten, were thrown headlong from the walls, and when all this cruel tragedy was over, their executioners not yet ſatisfied with their ſufferings, dragged thoſe miſerable objects in chains thro' the ſtreets. Thoſe of the factory at Poolaroon, underwent the ſame cru-

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elties; and the affairs of the company were again plunged into greater confuſion than ever. The Dutch alledged in defence of theſe outrageous proceedings, that they having a more ancient right to theſe iſlands, no ſubſequent act of the natives, who had before given up all their privileges, was of force to invalidate it; and further, that the war being carried on againſt the natives as principals, thoſe who had thus contrary to their engagements aſſiſted them, had no manner of right to complain of the event of a war of their own ſeeking. The Engliſh anſwered, by aſſerting their juſt claim to that country, and by denying that the inhabitants of Banda had ever made any manner of ceſſion of their freedom, or of their iſland to the Dutch.

Whether it were owing to the embarraſſments of the court, and the differences then ſubſiſting between king James and his parliament, it does not appear that the government made any remonſtrances againſt theſe unwarrantable proceedings, or demanded the ſatisfaction which the credit of the adminiſtration, or the nation's honour, abſolutely required. The remiſsneſs of the Engliſh encouraged the Dutch, who had formed the project of wreſting out of their hands the ſmall part of the ſpice trade which remained in the poſſeſſion of the company of that nation. They proceeded to commit ſtill greater barbarities in Amboina, where their cruelties are juſt matter of reproach to human nature. This iſland, which is forty leagues in compaſs, is ſituated near Seran, and gives name to ſome other iſles in its neighbourhood. Its principal produce is cloves,

the chief ſubject of its traffic, and in order to collect and buy up this commodity, the Engliſh company had planted on it no leſs than five ſeveral factories. The head of all theſe was that at the city of Amboina, at which place the agents of the company reſided, and who directed the management of the inferior factories at Hitto and Larica, upon the ſame iſland, as alſo thoſe of Lobo and Camballo ſituated on a promontory of the adjacent iſland of Seran. The Dutch had four forts on the iſland of Amboina, and the point of Seran, but the chief of all thoſe was that at the town of Amboina, which was defended by ſtrong fortifications, and a number of braſs ordnance. One ſide of this fortification was waſhed by the ocean, the other being ſeparated from the land by a broad and deep ditch, which was filled by the ſea-water. The garriſon conſiſted of about two hundred Dutch ſoldiers, and an independent company of free-burghers, beſides which there were three or four hundred mardikers in the town, who were always ready to aſſiſt the citadel at an hour's warning. And the ſhips which conſtantly lay in the road, whether on account of traffic, or for the defence of the place, added to its ſecurity, this being the rendezvous for the trade of Banda as well as that of the reſt of Amboina. The Engliſh lived in the town under the protection however of the caſtle, holding themſelves in perfect ſafety, as well from the ancient amity of the two nations, as by virtue of the late ſolemn engagement between the companies of England and the United Provinces.

Two

Two years were elapſed ſince the concluſion of that treaty by which all differences between the companies were terminated, when freſh cauſe of diſcord aroſe. The Engliſh complained heavily of the prodigious and unneceſſary charge which the Dutch pretended to have expended in fortifications and otherwiſe, and that they paid their own part of the garriſon's pay in proviſions and cloth of Coromandel, at three or four times the value it coſt them, whilſt nothing was accepted of from the Engliſh but ready ſpecie; by which method of proceeding the latter were made to pay two thirds of the charge, which ought to have been equal and common to both nations. Theſe and ſuch like proceedings giving riſe to perpetual diſputes, the affair was at laſt carried before the council of defence at Jacatra in the iſland of Java, who not being able to bring affairs into a poſture of being compromiſed, the ſtate of the caſe was ſent to Europe to be laid before the companies, or to be adjudged in the laſt reſource by the king of England and the States General, in terms of the agreement concluded for that effect.

Whilſt theſe things were thus in agitation, in Amboina, at Jacatra, and in Europe, the differences were ſtill increaſed, till the following event put a final end to the quarrel. A ſoldier of the Dutch troops, by nation a Japoneſe, came on a certain night to a centinel who was poſted upon the wall of the citadel of Amboina, and entering into diſcourſe with him, happened amongſt other things to aſk ſome queſtions about the ſtrength of the

fortreſs, and the number of the garriſon employed in its defence. This fellow had been occaſionally introduced into the citadel amongſt others of his nation to relieve the garriſon, the Japoneſe troops not being permitted to lodge in the fortreſs at other times, as not being truſted equally with the Dutch ſoldiers. The centinel informed his ſuperiors of what had paſſed, and the Japoneſe was apprehended on ſuſpicion of a treaſonable deſign upon the citadel. He was immediately put to the torture, and by the unſufferable torments he underwent, was induced to acknowledge himſelf and ſome others of his countrymen, guilty of the crime laid to his charge. Hereupon, the other ſuppoſed accomplices were put to the ſame trial, as was alſo a Portugueze who was guardian of the ſlaves of the Dutch. During this examination, the Engliſh continued to go to the caſtle as uſual upon affairs relating to their employ, where tho' they ſaw the priſoners, and learnt the cauſe of their tortures, they were however very far from imagining that they themſelves were in any danger, as they were conſcious of their own innocence, and did not ſo much as know any thing of the Japoneſe, nor the Portugueze whom they ſaw puniſhed before their eyes.

There happened to be at this time a priſoner in the caſtle, one Price, formerly ſurgeon to the Engliſh factory, and his crime was, that in a drunken fit he had threatened to ſet fire to a Dutchman's houſe who had quarrelled with him. This man was dragged from the dungeon where he lay, and being ſhewn the Japoneſe who were

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ſtill in the agonies of the recent torture, he was given to underſtand that thoſe wretches had confeſſed, that the Engliſh were alſo concerned in the deſign of betraying the caſtle; and further, that if he did not acknowledge the truth of that accuſation, he ſhould undergo, not only the ſame torments whereof he then beheld the effects, but alſo ſuffer cruelties ſtill more exquiſite. Theſe threats were ſeconded with what they menaced, when overcome with the unſufferable pains of the rack, he anſwered every thing put to him in the manner they deſired. The examination was ſcarce ended when captain Towerſon the Engliſh chief, and the reſt of that nation who reſided in the town, were ſent for to the governor on various pretences. As ſoon as they arrived, they were informed of what had been laid to their charge, and immediately confined. This proceeding was followed by attacking thoſe left in the Engliſh houſe, which was ſeized as well as all the effects within it belonging to the company.

Towerſon with one other perſon were kept priſoners in the citadel, the reſt were laid in irons, aboard of different ſhips then in the harbour. The ſame day thoſe of the Engliſh nation reſiding at the remaining factories in the ſame iſland of Amboina, viz. at Hitto and Larica, were alſo ſeized, and ſoon after the company's ſervants at Cambaſſo and Lobo, were brought in irons to the capital of thoſe iſlands.

The governor and fiſcal then proceeded to the examination of thoſe unhappy Engliſhmen. One

Beaumont and another whoſe name was Johnſon were firſt called upon, and brought from their confinement on ſhip-board, and being come to the caſtle, Johnſon was carried into a place apart, (the place of the torture) and Beaumont left in the hall under a guard, from whence he could hear the pitiful cries of his companion, at every application of the torture. How ſoon the perſon under examination had taſted the rack, Price, who had before undergone the ſame rites of hoſpitality, was brought in to confront him. Johnſon, however, perſiſted obſtinately to deny every thing, when Price was ordered out, and Johnſon again brought to the torture: and after continuing about an hour in the ſame ſtate of torment as formerly, his cries piercing the ears of his companion all the while, he was at laſt brought forth, all over drenched in water, and his body moſt cruelly ſcorched and burnt in ſeveral places. In this condition he was thrown into a bye corner, where a ſoldier ſtood over him, to watch that no perſon ſhould ſpeak to him. Emanuel Thomſon then ſucceeded to the torments of his countryman, his cries alſo piercing the other, who already knew too well the cauſe of his complaints. And after half an hour ſpent in this inhuman method of bringing the truth to light, he was likewiſe thrown out into a place apart from all converſe. Beaumont was then brought in, and denying with horrid oaths and imprecations every thing he was charged with, was in his turn equipped for the torture. They did not however proceed any farther with him

him at this time, the governor pretending to be moved with his extreme old age. This was the work of one day (Saturday the fifteenth of February). The day following nine of the priſoners were brought from the ſhips, when one Brown, unable to ſtand the torture, made anſwer as they deſired; but Edward Collins, denying all the allegations of the governor, with deep execrations, his hands and feet were firſt made faſt to the rack, and a cloth bound about his neck, whilſt two men with earthen jars of a prodigious capacity, ſtood ready to pour the water into it. Every thing being thus prepared, the ſight of the torture made him pray for reſpite, and to promiſe an entire confeſſion, on that condition; but no ſooner was this terrifying apparatus removed, he again aſſerted his innocency; but (ſaid he) as I know the torments you can inflict, I am ready to confeſs whatever you are pleaſed to deſire, if you will do me the favour as firſt to tell me what you would have me ſay. Whereupon the fiſcal being enraged, gave orders to give him the torture, which done, he ſoon deſired to be eaſed from his pains, promiſing an entire confeſſion. Being let down, he conſidered ſome time with himſelf, and then proceeded to tell, that ſome months before, himſelf together with Thomſon, Johnſon, Brown, and Fardo, others of the priſoners, had plotted to ſurprize the caſtle with the aſſiſtance of the Japoneſe. Being interrupted by the fiſcal, who aſked him whether captain Towerſon were not of the conſpiracy, he anſwered no, to which the fiſcal returned

returned this anſwer, that he lied, and then demanded him to acknowledge that Towerſon had called all the Engliſh together, and told them that the abuſes and inſolence of the Dutch had obliged him to think of that plot, and that he wanted nothing but their conſent and ſecrecy; and a Dutchman who was preſent aſked whether they had not all ſworn ſecrecy upon the bible; Collins anſwered with dreadful imprecations that he was utterly ignorant of any ſuch matter, but upon their ordering him to be made faſt again, he recanted and ſaid, that all was true as they had expreſſed it. They then proceeded to aſk the tormented perſon, whether the reſt of the Engliſh factories were not conſenting to this plot, whether the Engliſh preſident at Jacatra, or Welden their agent in Banda, were not privy to the affair; to all which he anſwered in the negative. The fiſcal then queſtioned him by what means the Japoneſe were to have executed their purpoſe, and Collins heſitating, that he might have time to deviſe ſome probable falſhood, the fiſcal helped him out by aſking him whether two of the Japoneſe were not to have gone to each point of the citadel, and to the door of the governor's chambers, that while he ſhould come out to enquire the cauſe of the confuſion, which was to have been raiſed without, they (the Japoneſe) ſhould kill him. One who ſtood by, irritated by this method of proceeding, called out to the fiſcal, that he ſhould ceaſe to tell the criminal what he was to ſay, but to let him ſpeak for himſelf,

himſelf, upon which the fiſcal went on from the queſtion in hand, by enquiring what reward the Japoneſe were to have had for their ſervice? Collins made anſwer; a thouſand rials a piece. And being unable to ſay any thing upon the ſpot in anſwer to this queſtion, at what time this plot ſhould have been put in execution, he was diſmiſſed from the torture.

Samuel Colſon, who had the queſtion next put to him, was ſo terrified at the ſight of Collins, whoſe eyes were ready to ſtart out of his head with the torture, that he confeſſed whatever he thought moſt agreeable to thoſe in whoſe power he was, though after coming out he proteſted his innocence in the ſtrongeſt manner. But John Clark who ſucceeded him, was not ſo eaſily brought to comply. He withſtood the torture two hours together, in which time the elements of fire and water were both made uſe of to compel him thro' agony to yield to their deſires. His hands were made faſt to a large door as far aſunder as they would ſtretch, by means of iron ſtaples drove into the extremities of it. His limbs were next made faſt in the ſame manner, and alſo ſtretched as far as poſſible aſunder. Then was bound about his neck and face a cloth ſo cloſe, as to contain the water that was to be poured into it. This done the executioners poured their jars into the cloth, and the water riſing above the noſtrils and mouth of the ſufferer, he was thus compelled to draw in with every attempt to breathe, huge quantities

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of the fluid, till by repeated draughts he was ſo glutted, that (what is horrid to imagine) his very entrails ſeemed to come out at his mouth and noſtrils, ſtifling him ſo that he would often fall into a ſwoon, when the victim was taken down, and prepared for undergoing his trial a ſecond time, by making him vomit up what had coſt him ſo many nauſeous and painful draughts. Thus was this unhappy man handled, time after time, till his body was ſwoln to almoſt twice its former ſize, his cheeks inflated like bladders, while his eye-balls ſtood out beyond his forehead. And when he bore all with an unſhaken reſolution, the fiſcal and his tormentors were heard to ſay, this muſt be an inchanted perſon, a witch or devil, to bear ſuch unſufferable torture; and therefore his hair was ordered to be cut off, leſt ſome charm might poſſibly be contained in that part. A ſecond piece of cruelty was now tried. He was hoiſted up as before, when theſe diſgraces of human nature cauſed the executioners to hold burning tapers to the ſoles of his feet, till the fat that dropped from him extinguiſhed them, in which caſe freſh lights were brought, and all this failing, they began to extend their helliſh cruelty to the other parts of his body, by ſcorching him in the palms of his hands, as alſo under the elbows and armpits. At laſt exhauſted and overcome with torture, he ſeemed willing to yield, but not being able to frame a relation in ſuch manner as to make it withal probable, they were reduced to the neceſſity

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of leading him along by queſtions ſo deviſed, as to render it impoſſible for him to miſtake their meaning. However, all they drew from was no more than yea and no, that is, to affirm or deny whatever they ſignified to be agreeable to them. After having thus treated him, he was carried out by four blacks to a diſmal dungeon, where he lay for ſeveral days without any ſurgeon to dreſs him, till his fleſh putrified, and maggots dropt from his ſores in a moſt loathſom manner. It was now dark, ſo that the other Engliſh brought from Hitto, and who had all this time waited their own turn of ſuffering, were firſt remitted to the ſmith's ſhop, whence they were conveyed loaded with irons, to the ſame loathſom dungeon where Clark and his fellows, whether Engliſh or Japoneſe, lay rotting in their ſores. Thus ended the work of Sunday.

Next morning (Monday the ſeventeenth of February O. S.) William Griggs, John Fardo, with certain Japoneſe, were introduced into the place of torture. The Japoneſe were firſt queſtioned to accuſe Griggs; which after abundance of cruelty and ſuffering, they at laſt conſented to: and Griggs, to avoid the ſame torments, followed their example, and confeſſed whatever was agreeable to the will of his judges. The ſame conduct was obſerved with reſpect to the other Japoneſe and to Fardo, tho' this latter did not comply till he had firſt ſuffered the torture by water. Thus, thoſe perſons were remitted back to their priſon. John Beaumont was now brought

brought in a ſecond time; one Newport the ſon of a Dutchman, but who had been born in England, ſerved for interpreter. Griggs was alſo brought in to accuſe Beaumont, affirming the latter to have been preſent at the forming of the conſpiracy. This Beaumont denied with the moſt tremendous oaths, till being hoiſted up, and plied with repeated draughts of water till his entrails were ready to burſt, he was at laſt fain to anſwer whatever the fiſcal put to him, in the affirmative. Notwithſtanding the moment he was let down, he not only proteſted to Newport and to one Johnſon a Dutch merchant, that all he had confeſſed was an abſolute falſhood, but even demonſtrated to them the impoſſibility of ſuch a thing ever to ſubſiſt. However the fear of a ſecond torture cauſed him to ſubſcribe his confeſſion, which done, an iron bolt of a moſt intolerable weight, and two ſhackles were rivetted to his legs, when he was alſo ſent to the loathſom place whence he had come.

George Sharrock, formerly aſſiſtant at Hitto, being next called upon, began with praying the Almighty God, that in order to ſhun the grievous torments with which his companions and countrymen had been afflicted, he would ſuffer him to make ſuch probable lies againſt his own innocence, as might ſerve at once to perſuade the Dutch, and help him to eſcape the torture. He was now brought near to the rack, where the tormentors ſtood ready with water, and lighted tapers. The governor and fiſcal then proceeding to examine him with regard to the pretended treaſon

treaſon with which he was charged, he fell upon his knees, proteſting before God and man his entire innocence. He was therefore ordered to the rack, and told that if he did not acknowledge himſelf guilty, he ſhould firſt be moſt exquiſitely tormented with fire and water, and afterwards dragged by the heels to the gallows to be hanged up. He ſtill perſiſted to vindicate himſelf, but being commanded by the fiſcal to be hoiſted up, he craved a moment's reſpite, alledging in his defence, that he was at Hitto at the time of the pretended conſpiracy (ſaid to have begun on new-year's day) and that he had not been at Amboina ſince November, which he was ready to prove by ſeveral perſons of known good faith and credit, as well Dutch as Engliſh. But upon a ſecond threat of being tortured, he again begged a delay, and now told that he had often heard Clark ſay, that he would be revenged on the Dutch for the unſufferable wrongs they had done the Engliſh, to which purpoſe he (Clark) had formerly propoſed an excellent plot to captain Towerſon, (the governor and fiſcal ſhewing by their geſtures and countenance, their ſatisfaction at this ſtory) that Clark ſaid he had entreated Towerſon to be permitted to go to Macaſſar, where he would conſult with the Spaniards proper meaſures for robbing the leſſer factories in the iſlands of Amboina and Seran, when no ſhips were there. They aſked the priſoner what anſwer Towerſon made to this propoſal of Clark's? he made anſwer, that Towerſon was enraged to the higheſt degree againſt Clark

Clark for this motion, and could never afterwards abide him. The fiſcal not being pleaſed with this latter part of his confeſſion, told him he lied, and threatened him anew with the torture. The priſoner once more begged them not to proceed, when he began to relate another ſtory quite different from the former; that upon twelfth-day laſt, Clark told him at Hitto, of a conſpiracy to ſeize the citadel of Amboina, and aſked him whether he would be of the plot. To which he made anſwer by demanding whether captain Towerſon was privy to it, and Clark anſwering in the affirmative, he (Sharrock) promiſed to do as the others. Thus he proceeded, varying likewiſe in other points, from the confeſſion they wanted him to make, and was ordered back to priſon, whence he was brought the day following and compelled to ſign a confeſſion, tho' he told the fiſcal to his face, that what he ſigned out of dread of the torture, was abſolutely falſe and void of all foundation. And the fiſcal reproaching him with lying, he burſt out into a bitter paſſion, accuſing the Dutch with ſhedding innocent blood, which, ſaid he, you muſt anſwer to your God for, at the day of judgment. In this manner, they proceeded with the other priſoners, compelling them to a confeſſion by inſupportable torments, and when themſelves knew not what to ſay, they were in a manner dictated to by the fiſcal. Notwithſtanding all of them proteſted their innocency before the torture was given, when it was removed, and at the moment of their execution, by

by the moſt ſolemn proteſtations and appeals to the tremendous tribunal of the Almighty God at the great day of judgment, and offering to take the holy ſacrament to vouch the truth of their declarations.

On the twenty-fifth all the priſoners, whether Engliſh, Portugueze, or Japoneſe, were ſolemnly condemned, excepting four of the former, who proved their being *alibi*, viz. at Hitto, at the time of the pretended conſpiracy, and the day following they were alſo all of them (excepting only captain Towerſon and Emanuel Tomſon) brought into the great hall of the caſtle, in order to be prepared for death by the Dutch miniſters. The Engliſh aſking the Japoneſe why they had accuſed perſons whom before they had never ſo much as ſeen, they replied by ſhewing the wounds received by the torture, adding, that fleſh and blood could not withſtand a trial, which was capable to change the nature of ſtones and other inanimate things. Beaumont and Collins were reſpited and pardoned, the latter drew lots with the other two by the favour of the governor, and the firſt had owed his life to the entreaties of two Dutchmen. Next day (the twenty-ſeventh) ten Engliſh were led to execution, with one Portugueze, and eleven Japoneſe, all of them proteſting their innocence till their laſt breath, and thus fell the victims of the cruelty and avarice of the Dutch company. The day following was ſpent, by order of the governor, in publick rejoicings for ſo great a deliverance. The governor and fiſcal then pro-

ceeded for Banda, where after the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny, with reſpect to the behaviour of the Engliſh agent, nothing was found that could be juſtly laid to his charge. Mr. Weldon, for that was the agent's name, perceiving the diſorder of the company's affairs at Amboina, and finding it neither to agree with the honour nor intereſts of his maſters to reſide any longer in that iſland, withdrew the poor remnant of the Engliſh, and embarked them along with him for Jacatra. This heavy news no ſooner reached the Engliſh there, than the preſident moved with horror at thoſe proceedings, ſent to demand of the Dutch general, by what authority the Dutch governor at Amboina had proceeded in this violent and barbarous manner againſt the Engliſh, and to know whether he approved of their conduct. The anſwer was, that the authority by which the governor in Amboina acted, was derived from the lords the States General of the United Provinces, by virtue of which he had ſupreme power in all caſes civil and criminal, and that further, the juſtice of his proceedings againſt the Engliſh traitors was not only juſt, but indiſpenſably neceſſary, as might be ſeen (ſaid he) by the copy he then tranſmitted him of their own confeſſions.

There are many circumſtances which contribute to render the innocence of thoſe unhappy perſons highly credible, and the conduct of the Dutch as well as their motives extremely ſuſpicious. It might be aſked why the Engliſh, if they were conſcious of any guilt, did not endeavou

deavour to make their eſcape, how ſoon they ſaw their pretended accomplices the Japoneſe apprehended, whoſe ſufferings themſelves were witneſſes to, three or four days before they were called in queſtion. It might alſo be aſked, in what manner, or with what hopes of ſucceſs, a citadel, ſtrong by nature and art, garriſoned by a body of between two and three hundred infantry, beſides as many more of their own free burghers in the town, always ready and certain friends in all dangers, I ſay, with what expectations, half a ſcore of Engliſh, and not one military perſon among them, was to reduce and to hold this fortreſs in ſpite of all the efforts of a vigilant, crafty, covetous, and ſuſpicious people? Can it be ſaid they relied upon the Japoneſe? ten poor daſtardly barbarians, unarmed! and with what magazines of proviſions, arms, warlike ſtores! What was to arm this army? Was three ruſty ſwords, two antiquated muſquets, and half a pound of powder, which was all the contents of their arſenal, to effect ſuch an enterprize, and to blow up the citadel and lords and commons of Amboina? What muſt the other Hollanders in the three other caſtles which the company have in that iſland, and all the crews of the ſhips in the road, be doing, whilſt the Engliſh were cutting the throats of their garriſon in the citadel? And further, is there no credit to be given to men as unanimous in their denial, as they were diſſonant from one another, and even each from himſelf in their pretended extorted confeſſions; to perſons under

the apprehenſion and in the very jaws of death, all the powers of their conſcience awake, all worldly conſiderations vaniſhed, and nothing before their eyes but death, judgment and eternity? On the other hand, the Dutch had many motives to tempt them to a piece of cruelty from which they apprehended no ill conſequences. Their unbounded avarice, and their deſire to poſſeſs the whole trade of the Moluccos, Banda, and Amboina, muſt ſtrongly incline us to think, that a nation, the very baſis and foundation of whoſe power, and the vital principle of their conſtitution, is the queſt of money, would not be over-ſcrupulous in an affair which ſo cheaply ſecured to them a thing of ſo great conſequence to their trade. Perhaps the lenity, or indolence or timidity of our court at that time, was none of the leaſt motives to their adventuring upon this cruel expedient, ſo diſgraceful to the then adminiſtration. In this manner, and by the above methods were the Engliſh company entirely driven out of the ſpice trade, which the Dutch thus wholly engroſſed to themſelves, and have continued ſole poſſeſſors of ever ſince.

King James dying ſoon after theſe diſaſters, there was no longer any hopes of finding any remedy for theſe evils. The reign of Charles the firſt was very early diſturbed with various embaraſſments, which diſabled that prince from doing any thing in the affair. He ſeems notwithſtanding to have had it at heart, as 'tis certain he granted letters of requeſt which were preſented to the States General for obtaining ſuitable

ſatisfaction

ſatisfaction to the Eaſt-India company of England, for their injuries and loſſes by the governor of Amboina. This meaſure had not the deſired effect, nor did the king inſiſt further upon it at this time, reſerving it till he ſhould find an opportunity to be revenged on the Dutch for other inſults, by giving ſome ſignal blow to their maritime ſtrength, and for ever to put it beyond their power, to execute the ſcheme of dividing the Spaniſh Netherlands with France, and ſo to diſpute in confederacy with that court the Engliſh title to the ſovereignty of the Narrow Seas, a project which determined the republic at this period to join with the houſe of Bourbon. This deſign of the king was followed by the diſputes about ſhip-money, which brought the nation and government into the utmoſt confuſion, and left the Dutch company in quiet poſſeſſion of this diſputed branch.

The Eaſt-India trade of England now began to decline apace, and the ſeverities of the Dutch terrified the company from engaging in diſputes which they were not able to ſupport, and even their ſervants were apprehenſive of ſettling in any of their colonies. In order to remedy this growing evil, the king thought proper to accept the propoſals of certain merchants of London, of ſending a ſquadron into thoſe parts to ſettle and trade, but without prejudice to the rights or intereſt of the company; wherefore a commiſſion was iſſued for certain perſons therein named to ſend a determined number of ſhips into the Eaſt. And in conſequence of this commiſſion ſix large

ſhips were ſent out, Sir William Courten who was one of the promoters of this ſcheme advancing on his own part one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds of the charge. Their ſucceſs in the Indies was equal to their expectations; but the Dutch, who dreaded above all things the reſtoring of the Engliſh commerce directly with the Indians, fell upon them in their return, in which action two of their largeſt ſhips, with every ſoul on board, and a cargo worth one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, were ſent to the bottom.

Notwithſtanding this diſaſter, ſeven ſhips were ſent out the year following, by the ſame proprietors, which met with the ſame misfortune in their return, with the former. One of thoſe veſſels running aſhore on the iſland Mauritius, fell into the hands of the Dutch, by which accident her owners loſt ten thouſand pounds ſterling, notwithſtanding all the pretended offers of the Dutch of friendſhip and aſſiſtance. Another was met by two Dutch ſhips of war belonging to their India company, who attacked her in a hoſtile manner, and beſides ſeizing every thing aboard, by which the owners loſt ſeventy-five thouſand pounds ſterling, killing the captain and ſeveral ſeamen, the remaining part of the crew were dragged in triumph, together with the Engliſh enſign, thro' the ſtreets of Batavia, where they were expoſed to the brutal inſults of the populace. By theſe outrages moſt of the proprietors were utterly ruined, and thus failed this attempt to reſtore the commerce of the Engliſh

to

to the Eaſt-Indies. King Charles, notwithſtanding all his embaraſſments, did not neglect the care of their concerns, tho' all his remonſtrances to the republic were attended with no other good conſequences than a reſtitution of eighty-five thouſand florins, a ſum no way proportionable to the damage.

The Dutch company now carried all before them in the Eaſt-Indies, and the Engliſh ſociety for this traffic, were not only forced to abandon all thoughts of regaining their juſt rights, but were alſo obliged to leave off all mercantile proceedings for ſeveral ſucceſſive years, the diſmal diſtractions at home diſabling the nation from all care of ſuch diſtant concerns altogether. There are no monuments of the company's tranſactions, if it be true that they ſubſiſted as a company at all, during the ſequel of this reign; wherefore we have nothing to lay before the reader which concerns that period.

The Dutch began to think of profiting by the immenſe addition of wealth and naval power which the confuſions in England had begot them, and that by an entire ſubverſion of our maritime force, out of a belief that the commonwealth of England would not venture upon a foreign war at a time when ſhe had ſcarce breathed from her inteſtine ſtruggles. They paid dearly for their temerity, the government of England reſenting their inſults as became them, and defeating on ſeveral occaſions their wanton aggreſſors in the firſt Dutch war, which was the conſequence of theſe meaſures. Nor did the new revolution which gave

the ſovereign power into the hands of a tyrant, produce any change to the advantage of the Dutch, who were ſaid to promote his advancement with all their power; ſo that they were at laſt compelled to ſubmit to a peace on their enemy's terms (the 5th of April 1654) by which they were obliged to do that juſtice to the Protector, their ancient friend, which they had inſolently refuſed to a prince who ruled by an infinitely better title. By this treaty the Dutch ſtipulate, "That the lords, the States General of the United Provinces, ſhall take care that juſtice be done upon thoſe who were partakers or accomplices in the maſſacre of the Engliſh at Amboina, as the republic of England is pleaſed to term that fact, provided any of them be living. By this treaty, there was ſettled a commiſſion which ſat at Goldſmith's Hall, whoſe determination was to be final and deciſive of all complaints to be laid before them with reſpect to the Engliſh and Dutch Eaſt-India companies. The Engliſh company gave in an account of damages, amounting, beſides the loſs of their ſettlements, to two millions, ſix hundred and ninety-five thouſand, nine hundred and ninety-nine pounds, nineteen ſhillings ſterling. This ſum was ſpecified in fifteen ſeveral articles. The Dutch company balanced this demand by a charge, which however was not ſpecified by particulars, amounting to eight hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, all which being weighed with the evidence produced in ſupport of the different demands, the commiſſioners came to the following concluſion (ſigned the 30th of Auguſt,

Auguſt 1654) viz. that they commit to eternal oblivion, all complaints, controverſies or pretenſions between the companies, ordaining, that the Dutch do cede the iſland of Poleron to the Engliſh company, who in their turn yield all title to exclude or moleſt the Dutch company in Perſia, and alſo all pretenſions on the latter in name of cuſtoms of Ormus or Gombroon; that the Dutch company do pay to theEngliſh, the ſum of eighty-five thouſand pounds ſterling; and finally, that the ſum of three thouſand ſix hundred and fifteen pounds be paid to the heirs, repreſentatives, or adminiſtrators of the ſufferers at Amboina, in the proportions mentioned in this deed, by the Dutch company, which done, no complaint or claim whatſoever is to be admitted on that ſcore in all time to come. This award being put in execution according to the letter, the affairs of the company began to acquire freſh vigour, and there was actually a ſubſcription entered into under the protection of Cromwell, amounting to eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

Things were in this train, when Charles the ſecond was brought back by the addreſs and taciturnity of Monk, and the conſtitution thus reſtored to its ancient form. Amongſt the firſt cares of his government, was the revival and proſperity of the trade to India. He granted the company a new charter (3d of April 1661) which confirmed all their ancient privileges, and added new ones. They were now permitted to export a quantity of bullion equal to fifty thouſand pounds ſterling every voyage, on condition that

that they re-exported to parts beyond ſeas Indian goods to that amount. Their excluſive right was alſo confirmed, and the company were empowered to grant licences to private traders in the Indies, as alſo to order all matters civil and criminal, and to make peace and war in all parts within the limits of their charter, but with this proviſo, that this charter might be made void, as ſoon as it ſhould appear to be detrimental to the general good of the nation, upon three years previous notice. Advantage was likewiſe taken of the negociation now begun for the king's marriage with the infanta of Portugal for the proſperity of the company, and thus the important iſland of Bombay was acquired to them by the care of the government.

Soon after, a ſquadron under the command of lord Marleburgh, was ſent to receive the inveſtiture and poſſeſſion of the iſland from the hands of the viceroy, who had received the king of Portugal's orders to that effect. But the Portugueze clergy oppoſing this deſign, terrified the viceroy into their meaſures, ſo that the Engliſh fleet was obliged to retire to Sually to refreſh. The governor of Surat, in whoſe government this place is ſituated, threatened the Engliſh factory at Surat, in order to compel the Engliſh fleet to ſheer off, he being apprehenſive of the near neighbourhood of ſo formidable a force. Wherefore the admiral after being permitted to buy what proviſions or commodities he wanted, ſet ſail for England, leaving Sir Andrew Shipman, who had been created governor of the new acquiſition

quiſition by the king, to paſs the weſterly monſoons in the country with the remaining part of the ſquadron, in which time they buried a conſiderable number of their men. The monſoons being over, the fleet put to ſea (in October) and ſet ſail for Bombay, and threatening thoſe that oppoſed their pretenſions with the vengeance of the kings of England and Portugal, the church reflecting on what the Spaniards and Portugueze had ſuffered by an Engliſh fleet in the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, abated of their zeal, and at laſt conſented to a treaty, by which the inhabitants were to be continued in the free exerciſe of their religion, and poſſeſſion of their eſtates under the crown of England, and Mr. Cook, who ſucceeded Shipman now deceaſed, took poſſeſſion of the iſland in the name of the king his maſter, in quality of governor, and immediately ſet about building a fortreſs for the protection of his new government. The trade of Bombay flouriſhed exceedingly, but the revenues of the place not being equal to the charge of keeping it, the crown thought fit to make it over to the company in fee-tail, in which manner they continue to hold it to this preſent time.

The Dutch had now for a conſiderable time purſued the project they had formed of driving the Engliſh out of the trade of the Eaſt. Their ſucceſs in time of war, when they attacked them directly, was generally anſwerable to their ſuperior force; and whilſt treaties ſubſiſted between the two powers, they had recourſe to other methods. As they were no longer at freedom to attack

attack the Engliſh in thoſe parts, they fell upon a method every whit as effectual to ruin them in the Indies; and this was by waging unintermitted war with the Indian princes, till they compelled them to expel the Engliſh out of their dominions. In this manner did they drive the Engliſh from their ſettlement at Bantam on the iſland of Java, after a long and bloody war, in which the Dutch ſupported the prince of Java againſt the king his father. This loſs affected the company extremely, and therefore they reſolved at all hazards to attempt the recovery of ſo important a place. For which purpoſe they made great and extraordinary preparations, there being ſoon after (1687) a fleet ready to put to ſea, conſiſting of twenty-three ſhips of war of the line, and amongſt thoſe ſeveral of great force (ſixty and ſeventy gun ſhips) and aboard of them eight thouſand fighting men. But all theſe preparations were defeated by the unexampled rapacity of the court, who in view of extorting ſums of money from the company, laid an embargo on the fleet for nine months running, when the Dutch ambaſſador offering a hundred thouſand pounds, to ſtop the company's proceedings, the court, to their eternal infamy, ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted by this bribe, and thus ſelling their country for ſo mean a gratification, defeated the company's project to all intents and purpoſes.

James the ſecond eſpouſed the intereſt of the company with ſtill greater zeal than his royal predeceſſor, notwithſtanding the new charter they received of the latter, in the twenty-eighth year

year of his government, the advantages of which were extended by the ſame monarch by a freſh charter ſeven years later. King James, who was a warm promoter of the Britiſh commerce, gave them vaſt privileges, and a ſovereign and almoſt unlimited power. He empowered them to build fortreſſes, to levy troops, to determine cauſes under the form of courts martial, and to coin money, and this with an intention to enable them to diſpute with the Dutch the traffic of the Eaſt, and to ſecure a portion of this beneficial trade to his people. The company however, were far from making a proper uſe of the powers with which the ſovereign had inveſted them, which they made their countrymen feel the full weight of, without communicating to them any part of the benefit accruing from them.

The company having been at the charge of fitting out ſo many ſhips of force, were under a neceſſity of employing them in the Indies; but their capital being inſufficient for ſuch an undertaking, their generals and chiefs of factories in India were ordered to borrow money of the Indian merchants, for which they were to have the company's ſecurity, in order to enable them to purchaſe a loading for their ſhips homewards. This was accordingly put in execution, and thoſe ſhips which could not obtain a cargo home were employed in freights in the country. The policy of the company was thus far juſtifiable enough, but the following particular can never juſtly be defended, which was, that the ſervants of the company

company ſhould endeavour to borrow, or take up upon credit, as much caſh or goods as poſſible of the Mogul's ſubjects, which done, they were to find out cauſe of quarrels with their creditors, and from this handle interdict them from trading, the merchants of Surat carrying on at that time (in 1686 and 1687) a prodigious commerce by ſea, to Mocha, Perſia, and Baſſora to the weſtward, and to Bengal, Achen, Malacca, and Siam eaſtwards, by virtue of paſſes obtained of the Engliſh general, who gave them to all who demanded them. The general, in conſequence of his inſtructions, ſoon began to complain of grievances, the ſubſtance of which complaints were contained in thirty-five articles, moſt of which related to two Engliſh gentlemen Meſſrs Pitt and Boucher, who had formerly been by the appointment of the company of the general's council. Theſe two perſons had drawn upon themſelves the reſentment of the governor, becauſe they had always preferred their own honour and integrity to the general's favour, and had for this reaſon conſtantly oppoſed all his pernicious and oppreſſive meaſures. At laſt, his vengeance grew to ſuch an height, that the only means of ſafety left them was to take ſanctuary in the Mogul's country, where Mr. Boucher, by means of a licence from the monarch, continued to trade with abundance of ſucceſs. But his companion in adverſity was not ſo fortunate, for being taken at ſea by pirates, who at firſt demanded no more than five thouſand pounds for his ranſom, but being perſuaded by the governor to raiſe their

pretenſions

pretenſions to twenty-five thouſand, he continued priſoner with them the remaining part of his life. Not content with the vengeance he had taken of Mr. Pitt, he now ſent to the governor of Surat to demand Boucher, with his wife, children and effects, which demand was delivered in the moſt arrogant and haughty terms imaginable, inſiſting among other things, that the gates of Surat ſhould remain open when he went to take his pleaſure, and ſuch like frivolous requeſts.

Theſe pretences were made the foundation of a war with the Mogul, the governor, whether from the violence and weakneſs of his own ſpirit, or by inſtructions of his conſtituents, or both, ſeizing the ſhips of the Mogul's ſubjects wherever they were found, notwithſtanding they had the ſanction of his own paſſports, and this without ever ſending to know the king's pleaſure thereon, or ſo much as the common form of declaring war obſerved amongſt all civilized nations. Thus were the company involved in a quarrel which coſt them upwards of four hundred thouſand pounds, beſides ruining their credit with the Mogul and his ſubjects, a diſaſter which they have not got the better of entirely to this very day.

The general ſeeing ſo many ſhips of force in his hands, without any employment for them, diſpatched them for Mocha, Perſia, and Bengal, in order to ſeize the ſhips belonging to Surat, which traded to thoſe parts under the protection of his own paſſports. One Andrews who commanded

manded the ſhip Charles the Second, ſet ſail for Mocha, where he ſet up the flag of England upon the Engliſh factory, and made prize of two Engliſh ſhips. The captain of one of theſe refuſing to make a voluntary delivery of his ſhip, was killed in his cabin. But there being but a ſmall part of their cargo aboard, this enterprize was not ſo ſucceſsful as deſperate. The governor and merchants of Mocha were far from countenancing theſe violent proceedings, and Andrews, ſuſpecting their deſign of compelling him to reſtore the ſhips, fled on board with great precipitation.

Andrews ſoon ſet out with his prizes. But the company paid dear for thoſe captures, they being obliged to make ample reſtitution to the owners for their loſſes. The cargo of the Streights merchants, one of their ſeizures, was made good to the owners at the rate at which ſome coffee, part of her cargo brought over by the ſupercargo, ſold for in England, where it had met with an exceeding good market, the whole amounting to thirty-two thouſand pounds. The Briſtol's cargo was alſo in like manner made good to the proprietors, as was that of the Johanna, which came to ſixty thouſand pounds, and the Little Betty a ſhip which with her cargo (both ſold at Bombay) did not bring the company above ſix hundred pounds, was by them paid for in England at the rate of twelve thouſand pounds. It is ſaid that the owner of this veſſel, who had arreſted Tyrrel the captain who made prize of her, accept

as he was going off the Exchange, refuſed to accept of king James as bail for him, tho' he accepted of Sir Joſeph Hern.

The Charles, Cæſar, and Royal James and Mary, brought prizes into Bombay, fourteen ſail of the Surat merchant ſhips, there being no war as yet (in 1688) with the Mogul, but only with the inhabitants of Surat, whom the general threatened to humble.

In October of the ſame year, the general went to Surat, accompanied by the Royal James and Mary, and ſeveral other ſhips of force, in order to frighten the governor and inhabitants into a compliance with his demands. Failing in his deſign, he left Surat precipitately, (Jan. 1889) taking with him all the ſhips, except the Adventure which had been by accident forced over the bar, where ſhe was deſtroyed by the worms. On his paſſage to Bombay he was met by a corn fleet, deſtined to ſupply the Mogul's army, which then lay at Dunder-rajah-pore, fourteen leagues ſouth from Bombay. Wherefore a council was held in order to determine whether they ought not to make prize of this fleet. One captain Hilder, as the oldeſt officer, being firſt aſked his opinion, was entirely againſt the moleſting of this fleet, alledging in ſupport of what he had adviſed, that this proceeding muſt undoubtedly ſtreighten the army, and ſo oblige them to break up in queſt of proviſions, and might poſſibly in ſome meaſure affect Bombay, which for fuel and proviſions was greatly beholden to the neighbouring country.

The greateſt part of the other officers were alſo againſt this meaſure. The general notwithſtanding continued immoveably fixt in his reſolution to ſeize the fleet, and made anſwer to their juſt objections, in terms full of pride, inſolence, and ſelf-ſufficiency, tho' no perſon ever ſhewed a more daſtardly ſoul when the danger drew near, than he did.

The Mogul general being informed that the general of the Engliſh company had ſeized the fleet which carried the proviſions of clothing and corn deſtined for the ſupport of his army, ſent to him in terms of the higheſt reſpect, to requeſt the diſcharge of the fleet, aſſuring him, that as he had never hitherto interfered between the general and the inhabitants of Surat, he was ſtill reſolved to purſue the ſame conduct with reſpect to both, unleſs his refuſal of ſo juſt a demand ſhould oblige him to act in a different manner. The anſwer of the general was full of inſolence, and the fleet was unloaded at Bombay. The Mogul chief ſent again to require the ſurrender of his fleet, threatening, that if this laſt demand was not complied with, which muſt be before the eleventh of February, which was near at hand, he ſhould quarter with all his army at Bombay, before the fourteenth next following. This demand being alſo rejected with the ſame arrogance, he performed his promiſe with the greateſt exactneſs; and that very night (the 14th) landed at Souree, a place four miles diſtant from the principal fort, with a body of twenty thouſand men. The ſecurity of the general, who

truſted

truſted to the reputation and power of the company in the Indies at that time (greater than they were ever before, or ſince) made him neglect thoſe precautions which were neceſſary in the neighbourhood of an enemy. There were even a ſufficient number of ſmall ſhips to hinder any enemy from landing, had they been properly diſpoſed; but all had been neglected from a belief, that the Indian general would certainly never attempt to land. Accordingly his coming being unexpected, he ſurpriſed the redoubt that ſtood at the place where he made his deſcent, the garriſon of it flying, after firing a great gun to give the alarm. At one in the morning, three guns were fired from the caſtle, to give the general notice of the approach of the enemy. This ſurprize ſtruck ſuch a pannic into the inhabitants who lived without the fortreſs, that the women both white and black ran half naked with their children in their arms to the caſtle, where they were obliged to continue without the walls, till day light relieved them by diſcovering them to be friends. In the ſame manner the fortreſs of Mazagun was deſerted notwithſtanding its ſtrong ſituation upon a rock, three ſides of which are defended by the ſea; and that with ſo great precipitancy, that every thing was left to the enemy, tho' the ſeamen offered to bring them off, the officer who commanded dreading more that the treaſure and arms ſhould fall into their hands, than into thoſe of the enemy. The Indian general found in it eight or ten cheſts of treaſure, thoſe cheſts generally containing one thouſand pounds

each, four cheſts of new arms, fourteen cannon, two mortars, beſides powder, bombs, and cannon ſhot. The Mogul's general profiting by theſe ill meaſures of the Engliſh, ſent a party to plunder the peaſants of Mahim, and at the ſame time to ſeize the fortreſs, which he conjectured might have been abandoned as well as the other. He was not miſtaken, the garriſon having embarked for Bombay before they ſaw an enemy. He now took poſſeſſion of Mazagun, planted his flag upon the ramparts, and fixed it his head quarters. The day following, ſome of his troops ſhewed themſelves to the Engliſh general on the hills of Mazagun, a ſight which ſtung him to the quick. Wherefore captain Pean was ordered with two companies conſiſting of ſeventy men each, to drive the enemy from thoſe poſts. One Monro, who had formerly ſerved at Tangier, was appointed for his lieutenant. This ſmall body marched in good order till they came within ſhot of the enemy, who ſtood behind a riſing ground which defended them from the ſhot of the Engliſh, and from whence they did not offer to advance. Monro ſeeing this caution of the enemy, gave it for his opinion, that the moſt effectual means to diſlodge them, would be by dividing their own forces into platoons, and ſo to ſeparate thoſe of the Indian infantry. The captain affronted at this piece of advice, told the lieutenant, that when he was appointed commander, he might do as he thought proper; but as that care lay upon himſelf, he would act in his own way. He then

ordered

ordered his men to ſpread themſelves as much as poſſible, and to diſcharge all at once upon the enemy as ſoon as they ſaw them open in the plain. This conduct he ſaid would ſtrike a terror into them. Monro oppoſed this diſpoſition, putting him in mind of the danger he muſt expoſe his men to if the enemy ſhould advance upon them whilſt they were loading again; but all was in vain, and the captain adhering tenaciouſly to his own conceptions, ordered his men to fire in the manner he had already directed. The enemy being lighter armed than the Engliſh, and perfectly well practiſed in cloſe fight with ſword and target, no ſooner ſaw the Engliſh fire ſpent, than laying hold of that important moment, they ruſhed upon them with all their ſpeed, when all gave way to ſo bold and rapid a movement, the captain being the foremoſt to the Portugueze church, where a party of one hundred men lay re[illegible]o receive or ſupport him, as exigency ſhould require. Monro ſtill continued to make a ſtand with a part of the wing which he commanded, thoſe who ſtood firm to him not exceeding fourteen in number. They were ſoon ſurrounded by the enemy, and every man of them cut to pieces. Pean returned to the general, whoſe minion he was, and he was better welcomed than he deſerved.

At the time that the general left Surat, ſeveral perſons, ſome of whom were ſervants of the company, and others independent, were ſent to priſon, where they were laid in irons, Mr. Boucher and thoſe protected by his firman, being the

only perſons exempted from that ſeverity. The reſt of their uſage was in conformity to this proceeding; they were obliged to paſs thro' the ſtreets with irons about their necks, as a mark of infamy. Sir John Weyburn had ſome time before this (in 1686) been ſent from England with a commiſſion from the king to execute the office of judge admiral. Another commiſſion was alſo given him on the part of the company by their governor, which he was alſo made to believe to be from the king, to condemn and put to death thirteen of the inhabitants of Saint Helena, at which place, one Johnſon, the ſecond, had been killed, in a tumult cauſed by the oppreſſion of the governor of that iſland. Weyburn on his way to India put in at Saint Helena, when the thirteen proſcribed perſons were, without form or proceſs, put to death, a proceeding for which the company paid very dearly afterwards, and which Weyburn's death only exempted him from. 'Tis thought that the illegal proceedings of the general (Child), and the many perſonal affronts he had received from him, occaſioned his death, which happened at Bombay, about two months before the invaſion of the Indians. He was much lamented by all perſons of probity who knew him, and had formerly been captain of the Happy Return, which accompanied the duke of York in his way to Scotland aboard the Glouceſter; and it was he who ſent his barge for the duke in the ſtorm in which the Glouceſter was loſt, and brought him ſafe on board his own ſhip, and afterwards

landed

landed him ſafe in Scotland, for which action he received the honour of knighthood. He continued ever after in the good graces of king James, but refuſing to comply with the meaſures of the court, this office had been given him, in order to diſmiſs him with honour.

The Mogul general was now maſter of the whole iſland, the caſtle excepted, to reduce which he planted batteries of cannon on Dungree hill, which as they overlooked the fort, galled the garriſon prodigiouſly. Beſides theſe, four cannon were planted in the cuſtom-houſe, a battery was raiſed at the Moodies-houſe, within two hundred paces of the court, and another at another place, ſo that there was no going out or in at the gate of the caſtle without imminent danger, till ſuch time as a half moon was raiſed to protect that entrance. All perſons were then preſſed into the ſervice of the company, of whatever rank or condition, without exception. Proviſions alſo became ſcarce, an evil which the addition of three thouſand Savagees taken into the ſervice of the company exceedingly increaſed. The winter months being over, the ſmall ſhips were ſent to ſea, to cruize on the Mogul's ſubjects, which ſervice ſucceeded well enough. Amongſt others captain Hamilton, from whom this relation is extracted, had amongſt others been preſſed into the company's ſervice, and had now given him the command of a ſmall privateer of ſeven or eight tons burthen, twenty fighting men, and ſixteen rowers. With this veſſel he brought nine prizes into Bombay, moſt of them loaded

with proviſions and clothing for the enemy's army, which was at this time increaſed to the number of forty thouſand. There was one piece of oppreſſion which contributed much to the decay of the ſervice, and that was this. The cruizers were not allowed any ſhare of the booty, to prevent which, no ſooner any prize was brought in, than the cheſts aboard were ſtrictly ſcrutinized, and if they had ſaved any part of their pay, all of it was laid hold of for the company's behoof, as being part of the money found in the prizes, ſo that the cruizers inſtead of being conſtantly upon the watch for prizes, never looked out till ſuch time as hunger began to preſs them, by which means many of the enemy eſcaped being taken.

The ill ſucceſs of the war aſhore, ſoon made the general ſick of it. Wherefore in the month of December two perſons, under the character of Engliſh ambaſſadors, were diſpatched for the court of the Mogul. The firſt in commiſſion, was Mr. George Weldon; Abraham Naava, a Jew, the ſecond; and Meer Mezamie, a merchant of Surat, who had ſome intereſt at court, and a friend to the company, aſſiſted on this occaſion. They arrived at Jehanabat, where the court then was, in fifteen days. Their reception at firſt was very indifferent; but by means of preſents to the officers at court, they were at laſt admitted to an audience, being brought into the preſence of Aurengzeb, in a very humbling attitude, their hands tied before them, and they obliged to fall proſtrate to the ground before the monarch,

monarch, who after a ſevere reprimand, aſked their demands. To this haughty behaviour, uſual in the Eaſtern courts, they made anſwer, by confeſſing their faults and aſking pardon. They then intreated, that their firman, which they had juſtly forfeited, might be renewed, and that the Mogul general might be ordered to withdraw with his army from Bombay. Aurengzeb told them, that he accepted of their ſubmiſſion, and pardoned the injuries they had done his people, on condition that Mr. Child their general ſhould depart forth of India in nine months, never more to return: that their firman ſhould be renewed, on condition that ſatisfaction ſhould be given his ſubjects for the debts contracted, the robberies committed, and the loſſes they had ſuſtained by the war; and that how ſoon ſecurity was given for the performance of thoſe conditions, the Mogul general and his army ſhould be ordered to evacuate their iſland.

The death of the general, which happened the January following, did much facilitate the company's affairs, tho' this accident was kept a ſecret till the pleaſure of the king ſhould be known with reſpect to him. And in the month of March, Meer Mezamie died alſo, ſuppoſed to have been by the enemies which his friendſhip for the Engliſh had gained him: and when the ambaſſadors ſent to enquire of him, in what manner he had diſpoſed of the monies he had received for ſecret ſervices, his anſwer was, that he was ſorry he had ever intermeddled in

their

their affairs, for that having ſerved them with his life, they were not contented even with that laſt proof of his attachment; and that for what uſes that money was put to, he neither dared, nor would, divulge. Whilſt the affairs of the Engliſh company were in this bad poſture, Baroon the ambaſſador of the Dutch company, hearing of the revolution which had happened in England, and thinking Aurengzeb ignorant of the affairs of Europe, laid hold of the firſt opportunity in an audience, to magnify the power and influence of his nation, at the expence of Great Britain: and the Mogul appearing to be ſatisfied with his diſcourſe, ordered him to proceed. He then gave him to underſtand, that the Engliſh were a weak and contemptible nation in compariſon of the Lords the States General of the United Provinces, the latter having been obliged to ſend a king to govern them, and that if the Engliſh were by his majeſty excluded from the trade of his dominions, the Dutch could carry it on, with greater advantage to his people, and alſo fill his coffers with treaſure, whilſt the Engliſh would not know where to get their daily bread. The Mogul replied with great gravity, that if it was true that his maſters were ſo much ſuperior to the Engliſh in power and riches, it muſt in that caſe be an eaſy thing for the Dutch to drive them out of India, and to enhance all the trade of his dominions to themſelves, and that he commanded him to tell his maſters that he expected no leſs from them. The ambaſſador excuſed

cuſed himſelf, pretending that he could do nothing in the affair, without orders from Holland; when Aurengzeb reprimanded him, by ſhewing the falſhood of what he had advanced; for, ſays he, you well know, that no more than ſeventeen years ago the king of France conquered moſt of your country in a few days, and that then, it was the forces of England, not thoſe of Holland, which repelled him; and if England did not hold the ballance of power, either the emperor, or the king of France, could conquer it in one campaign. The ambaſſador made no anſwer, and returned diſſatisfied that he had not been able to procure that indulgence for the company, he had been ſent to ſollicit.

The Engliſh ambaſſadors, after obtaining pardon, began to be reſpected, and were permitted to take their diverſion abroad, till ſuch time as a new firman ſhould be drawn up, an affair which required ſome time, according to the methods obſerved in the courts of the Eaſtern princes. However, orders were ſent out on both ſides, to forbear hoſtilities, ſo that frequent viſits paſt between the Mogul's troops and the Engliſh. The firman being ready, and the required ſecurity given, the Mogul general left Bombay the eighth of June 1690, leaving the peſtilence behind him, which in four months time deſtroyed more men than the war, and for joy he maliciouſly ſet fire to his head quarters, the fortreſs of Mazagun.

General Child was ſucceeded in the government of Bombay by Mr. John Vaux, though

Mr.

Mr. Bartholomew Harris, who had been priſoner at Surat during this rupture, had the ſeniority in the ſervice of the company; but as it was the cuſtom not to admit any one into offices of high truſt, that had been priſoner to the Mogul for crimes of a capital nature, without a particular amneſty from the monarch, Mr. Vaux was obliged to go to Surat, to receive the firman, and the Mogul's ſerpaw, or preſent, uſual on theſe occaſions. This conſiſts of a fine horſe, which muſt never afterwards be ſold upon any account whatſoever; a compleat ſuit of cloaths made of rich atlaſſes, or zeerbaſtas, that is to ſay, ſattins or taffaties, wrought with gold and ſilver flowers; and beſides this, a fine turban, embroidered ſhoes, and a dagger of curious workmanſhip, in a fine ſaſh. The general being equipped in this habit, the firman is preſented by the Mogul's meſſenger, when the governor of the city or province, in a ſpeech adapted to the occaſion, ſets forth the great honour conferred upon him by the moſt powerful potentate under heaven, with an admonition that his future behaviour may render him deſerving of ſuch a diſtinction. Mr. Vaux received the firman as above, in a gilded box, and putting it on his turban for a ſmall ſpace, returned by an interpreter the compliment of the governor, acknowledging the civilities of both him and the monarch whoſe ſervant he was. He was then conducted by the governor from the garden in which this ceremony had been performed, into the city, thro' an infinite concourſe of people, who welcomed his acceſſion

to

to that high rank, with ſhouts of joy, as he paſſed to the Engliſh factory. After remaining about a week at Surat, Mr. Vaux ſent to acquaint the governor of the neceſſity he lay under to return back to his government of Bombay, when he received for anſwer, that as no other perſon could be truſted by the Mogul, to ſee the performance of the contract performed, it was hoped he would not think of leaving the city, leſt the king ſhould repent of the favours he had ſhewn the company whoſe commiſſion he carried. Thus Vaux was detained hoſtage for the future good behaviour of the Engliſh company. Mr. Harris depending on the cuſtom generally obſerved by the company, demanded the preſidency of Mr. Vaux; and he, tho' the other was altogether unqualified, to ſave contention, yielded it. Harris came afterwards to be ruled entirely by one Anneſley, a man of no character, but of great craft, ſo that this latter came to hold the reins of government ſolely by himſelf, and had avarice and addreſs enough to embroil the affairs of the company, as well as of the private traders, during the government of Harris, and after his death procured himſelf to be made preſident, or rather tyrant of Bombay. The following is an inſtance of the juſtneſs of the character given him by captain Hamilton.

There are a great many large ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of the Mogul, which trade all over India. The owners of theſe, having a high eſteem of the abilities of the Engliſh in the art of navigation, above any other European nation, procured

procured Engliſh navigators and officers to conduct their ſhips, allowing them very conſiderable wages and other indulgences. Captains had from ten, to fifteen pounds a month; mates, from ſix to nine pounds; and the gunners and boatſwains, beſides good ſalaries, were allowed to carry certain goods and merchandize free of freight. Mr. Anneſley undertook to reduce theſe wages one half, to the perſons employed, looking upon the remaining moiety as his undoubted due, in quality of his office. Some awed by fear, or compelled through neceſſity, complied; whilſt others deſpiſing his threats, refuſed to come into his meaſures. Theſe he looked upon as rebels, proſecuting them to the utmoſt of his power, and when that failed, bribing the Mogul's governor to plague and harraſs them. Thus ſome were oppreſſed and ruined by his practices, whilſt others bid him defiance with impunity. Thoſe who ſuffered, and theſe who were out of his reach, equally ſtrove to expoſe him and his ſuperiors to the hatred of the Mogul ſubjects, and in the end effectually deſtroyed both their eſteem and credit with the trading part of that people. Thoſe in lower circumſtances, thus loſing their employ in the ſervice of the Mooriſh merchants, and whoſe being and ſubſiſtence depended on their labour and induſtry, were forced to deviſe new ways of ſubſiſting, prejudicial enough to the company's affairs, ſeveral going over to the ſervice of the pirates.

The company in England being informed of Harris and Anneſley's male adminiſtration, ſent out

out Sir John Gayer to take upon him the management of their concerns. This perſon arrived in the year 1694, and was inveſted with the title of general of all India. Anneſley was immediately diveſted of all power to do future harm, tho' he continued in the ſervice of the company till the year 1700, but was at laſt diſmiſſed from all employment under that company. The new governor, tho' far from being a man of a vicious character, committed ſome actions which very much wounded his reputation. One inſtance is as follows: a young lady who had no relations alive, but had a portion of three thouſand pounds, happened unadviſedly to marry a perſon ſhe loved in a clandeſtine manner, contrary to the ſtatute law of Bombay, where no marriage is binding without conſent of the governor. Gayer taking advantage of this ſtatute, diſſolved the marriage, and on account of the money, married her to his own ſon. Another piece of bad conduct in this governor was, the compelling the crew of a ſhip to go on board againſt their own inclination, and to proceed on a voyage to China, notwithſtanding the loud complaints they made of their captain's ill uſage of them, and that with a great deal of juſtice. The conſequence of this proceeding was, that the crew mutinied on their paſſage, murdered their captain in his cabbin, and then went a pirating with the ſhip, infeſting the navigation of the ſtraits of Malacca, where they took and plundered every ſhip they were able to overcome. The

The third and laſt particular I ſhall mention alledged againſt Sir John Gayer, was the ſuffering himſelf and his wife to be taken priſoners by order of the governor of Surat, when it was in his power to have prevented that meaſure, by defending himſelf in his fortreſs, or at leaſt by a timeous and eaſy eſcape: this was no more, according to the prevailing opinion, than a ſtratagem of Gayer's own contrivance, whereby he found means to reſide at Surat, where he could employ his money to much greater advantage, than he poſſibly could at Bombay, his own government.

Nor was the government of Sir Nicholas Waite, who ſucceeded Gayer in the direction of the company's affairs at Bombay, any more for the intereſt of his conſtituents, than that of his predeceſſor. The looſeneſs of his morals, his barefaced injuſtice and prevarication, provoked the inhabitants and ſoldiery at Bombay to ſuch a degree, that they ſeized him, and ſent him priſoner to England, ſo that his reign, which was very ſhort, was however exceedingly prejudicial to his conſtituents, as well as to the private traders under his government.

From the time that the preſident had been obliged to reſide at Surat, Bombay had been governed by a perſon deputed from him. At this time, out of near eight hundred Engliſh that dwelt here before the war, there were no more than ſixty left alive by the plague and the ſword; ſo that Bombay, from being one of the moſt delightful

lightful places in all the Indies, was now become a moſt diſmal deſart. The ſpirit of injuſtice (ſays my author) ſtill reigned there, thoſe whom the war and peſtilence had left alive, being refuſed liberty to return home to their native country, nor were they permitted to ſeek the advancement of their fortunes, being ſtill continued in the ſervice of the company, into which they had been compelled in the late exigency of their affairs, and in which they ſaw no proſpect of ever being preferred. This occaſioned conſiderable diſcontents, and the rigorous exaction of the company's duties of five per cent. on proviſions, in the middle of the war, when the importation of them ought above all things to have been encouraged, added not a little to the general murmur.

Let us now return to Great Britain. In the year 1693, king William granted this company a charter of regulations, which proves by the references contained in the body of it, that their former charters had been renewed in the month of October preceding. This act empowered them to open books for a new ſubſcription to the amount of ſeven hundred and forty-four thouſand pounds. By this the company were alſo bound, to cauſe all their goods to be publickly diſpoſed of by inch of candle; to extend their exports of goods of the manufacture of this kingdom to the value of one hundred thouſand pounds; to furniſh to the crown five hundred tons of the beſt ſalt-petre yearly, at the rate of thirty-eight pounds ten ſhillings per ton in time of peace, and in

time of war at forty-five; finally, they were ordered to make all dividends upon their capital in money only. Theſe conditions obſerved, this charter was to remain in force for the ſpace of twenty-one years. They were likewiſe to conform and give perfect obedience to all ſuch orders, qualifications or reſtrictions, as their majeſties, by and with advice of the privy-council, ſhould ſee fitting, on or before the twenty-ninth of September 1699; that otherwiſe letters of revocation ſhould be iſſued, whereby all their powers and privileges ſhould be rendered null and of no effect. The reſtrictions fixed at that time (1694) were contained in another act called, a charter of regulations, containing among other particulars, that the governor and company trading to Eaſt-India, ſhould once every year in the month of Auguſt, tranſmit to the privy-council a true and fair account of the qualities, quantities, and value at prime coſt of the goods of the manufacture of England by them exported, together with the place from whence ſo exported, and this certified by the oaths of the officers of the cuſtoms, and of the company's ſervants; and it was at the ſame time provided, that none of the above goods and merchandize ſo exported, ſhould be relanded in the dominions of Great Britain, nor conveyed to any other parts beyond ſeas, than the places within the limits of their charter. It was further ordered, that on application made by ſix or more proprietors, each of whom ſhould be poſſeſſed of one thouſand pounds capital ſtock in the funds of the company, demanding a general court

court to be held, that then the governor, or deputy governor, ſhould within eight days after the above application, call ſuch a court, which might not be adjourned but by conſent of the majority of the proprietors ſo aſſembled. To theſe and other ſuch reſtrictions, the company were required to give perfect obedience, under pain of loſing all the powers and privileges they ſtood poſſeſſed of.

It might be thought that all thoſe powers and advantages ſecured and confirmed to them by ſo many charters, ſhould have ſettled their affairs upon a ſolid baſis, and eſpecially during a reign which ſeemed to deny them nothing. This was however very far from being true at this juncture. Their authority was conteſted in a bold and open manner by the private traders, ſtiled by them interlopers, who paid no regard to their pretenſions, out of a belief, that the crown had no power to grant any excluſive privilege in matters of trade. But the greateſt evil of all was the ſtraits and poverty of the government, the miniſters favouring the private merchants in order to draw ſums of money from them for ſuch licences, and thus ruining the credit of their adminiſtration, by an open breach of all thoſe charters which themſelves had been the inſtruments of procuring, for which the company had paid ſuch exorbitant ſums, and on the faith whereof ſo many perſons of all ranks had thrown their fortunes into the company's capital. The ſum wanted at this time by the government was two millions, and, it not being believed that any number of new proprietors

would advance ſuch a ſum for a new charter upon the credit of the adminiſtration, who had ſo lately prevaricated with the old company, the affair was laid before the houſe of commons (in 1698) in order to have every thing ſettled upon a more ſolid baſis, that of national ſecurity. The motion for a new company was no ſooner made, than it was ſupported by all the weight and intereſt of the perſons in power, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the members of the old company, whoſe zeal and vehemence had no manner of effect. Their cauſe had no better ſucceſs in the houſe of lords, where Sir Thomas Powis, and Sir Bartholomew Shower, their council, ſupported their pretenſions with abundance of eloquence; for it had been already determined to ſacrifice the intereſts of the old company to thoſe of the public, or to ſpeak with more juſtice, to the neceſſities of the government.

Thus a new company was conſtituted, and incorporated by a law, at the price of a loan of two millions, for which they received intereſt after the rate of eight per cent. tho' by ſubſequent acts of the legiſlature, it has been reduced to ſix and to five per centum.

The old company had no other plan left but to negociate an union with her younger ſiſter, a thing the more likely to ſucceed as it was evidently the intereſt of both. An agreement was ſoon determined, by which it was reſolved, that the effects of both companies ſhould be brought home to be diſpoſed of for their ſeveral accounts, and all poſſible precautions taken that both might do it with ſecurity;

ſecurity; that no advantages either on the part of the crown, or of the new company, ſhould be taken of the old company on pretence of forfeiture; and that a releaſe ſhould be given by the two companies to each other reciprocally, and by each of them to their reſpective factors and ſervants; that the funds of the old company, amounting to three hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds, ſhould immediately upon the execution of the above part of this agreement, be united to the capital of the new company; and that the old company ſhould purchaſe, ſix hundred and ſeventy three thouſand five hundred pounds ſtock of the new company, in their capital ſtock of one million, ſix hundred and ſixty-two thouſand pounds, to be transferred by three of their members in their political capacity, with the profits to ariſe therefrom, whereby the old company may have nine hundred and eighty-eight thouſand five hundred pounds in the common funds, an equivalent to the intereſt of the new company therein, and that the above ſtock of ſix hundred and ſeventy-three thouſand five hundred pounds, ſhould be transferred at four ſeveral times, one fourth part to be paid for at each transfer, at the rate of one hundred pounds for one hundred pounds; that the dead ſtock of the old company at home and abroad ſhould be valued at thirty-three thouſand pounds, that of the new company alſo at home and abroad, at ſeventy thouſand pounds, and that the old company ſhould, at the time of transferring their firſt fourth of the ſaid ſix hundred and ſeventy-three thouſand five hundred pounds, tranſ-

fer at the ſame time all their dead ſtock at home and abroad to the new company, the latter paying for one moiety thereof ſixteen thouſand five hundred pounds, and that the new company ſhould alſo pay to the old company thirty-five thouſand pounds, as the one moiety of their dead ſtock, and that thereupon, the old company ſhould be intitled to one moiety of both dead ſtocks, in the ſame manner as the members of the new. The members of the new company ſo transferring to be intitled to the arrears of their annuities till the time of the ſaid transfers, after which all annuities ariſing from the ancient ſtock of the old company (315,000 l.) to be paid to perſons to be appointed for that effect by the old company for their uſe, and in like manner the new company to enjoy all profits previous to this agreement, and alſo five per cent. on all ſhips entered inwards, or cleared outwards, previous to the execution of the ſaid agreement, but that each company deſiſt from any ſeparate exportation.

That, for ſeven years next enſuing, both companies were to ſhare equally in the adminiſtration of all affairs relating to their funds or commerce, and that twelve perſons ſhould be elected by the general court of each company reſpectively, out of the courts of committees, and directors of the ſaid companies, who ſhould be named in the new charter, the managers of the united trade to India, and that a new additional ſtock ſhould be raiſed for carrying on the future commerce, to be advanced in ſuch proportions as the ſaid twenty-four managers, or the major part of them

ſhould

ſhould ſee fitting, the general courts approving thereof.

That for the ſpace of ſeven years enſuing, the old company ſhould remain a ſeparate corporation, and preſerve their ſtock as a body politick, with power to transfer and aſſign in their own books, as at that time then preſent, and that at the end of ſeven years they ſhould transfer and aſſign in the books of the new company, their ſhare in the capital, to ſuch members as ſhould then ſtand intitled to the ſame, whereupon the ſaid members of the old company ſhould become members of the new company gratis.

That each company ſhould indemnify the other from their debts and demands, and a proper proviſo be made for that purpoſe; and that the new company, from the time that this agreement ſhould be put in execution, ſhould not take up any monies upon their common ſeal, nor do any other act, except what related to their ſeparate effects as aforeſaid, without the concurrence of the old company.

That it ſhould be covenanted between them, that his majeſty ſhould within ten days after making the above aſſignment, make a re-grant, and that the old company ſhould ſurrender their charter, and act of incorporation, within one month after the expiration of the ſaid ſeven years, and alſo that the king ſhould within ten days after the ſaid ſurrender, make a new grant to the truſtees, and ſubject to the ſame truſtees all ſuch eſtate and effects of the old company as ſhould come to, or devolve upon the crown, by reaſon of the ſaid ſurrender.

Finally, that immediately from and after the ſaid ſurrender, the new company ſhall be ſtiled, The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt-Indies. And that nevertheleſs, the future management of the ſaid ſtock and trade, after the expiration of the ſaid ſeven years as above, ſhould be according to the charter of the new company, of the date of the 5th of September 1698. And that for the better attaining the purpoſes aforeſaid, there ſhould be a tripartite indenture, to be put in execution on the part of his majeſty and of both the ſaid companies, wherein ſuch covenants and proviſions ſhould be made as ſhould be thought reaſonable, with proper releaſes to each company, in ſuch manner as that as ſoon as the above term of ſeven years allowed for the conveniency of both ſides ſhould be expired, the two companies ſhould thenceforwards become, and be one in name and in effect.

Thus were the animoſities and quarrels between the two companies, both at home and in the Indies, put an end to, tho' in theſe diſtant parts a conſiderable time was ſpent even after this coalition, before peace and harmony were entirely reſtored. For heretofore nothing but the brittle bond of lucre and ſelf-intereſt had held the Britiſh ſubjects engaged in this commerce together, by which perſons who ſecretly entertained the greateſt averſion for each other, were obliged to a certain degree of compliance to obtain their ſeveral ends. All this time their affairs were in a languid condition, as being principally ſupported by

by ſuch as had no other concern for them, than in proportion as their private intereſts were connected with them. The miniſtry were ſo much taken up with humbling the exorbitant power of the houſe of Bourbon, now grown to a height that juſtly alarmed all the other powers of Europe, that they had no leiſure for the more tranquil concerns of trade and commerce.

There however remained ſeveral inconveniences after this union, to remove which the company reſolved to apply to the court. The loan of money has been a way of procuring that protection, of very ancient ſtanding, and it was reſolved to purſue the ſame meaſures in the ſolliciting of ſome remedy for the preſent inconveniences. Wherefore they offered to lend the government in the ſixth year of the reign of queen Anne, the ſum of one million two hundred thouſand pounds, over and above what the government ſtood indebted to them for already. Their propoſal was without difficulty accepted of, and the parliament was to afford them all that they required for the benefit of their traffic. A law was therefore paſſed, by which it was enacted, that the Engliſh company trading to the Eaſt-Indies, do pay into the Exchequer the ſum already mentioned at certain times, in failure whereof, the monies to be recovered of the company by way of action of debt, with twelve per cent. damages, and that the company be impowered to borrow on their common ſeal a ſum of money, the principal not to exceed one million five hundred thouſand pounds over and above what

what they were formerly legally intitled to borrow on their common ſtock. If the governor and company, and general court of the merchants of England trading to the Eaſt-Indies, ſhall ſee fit to call in monies from their reſpective adventurers towards the raiſing the ſaid ſum of one million two hundred thouſand pounds, or repayment of monies borrowed for that effect, they are by this act empowered to make ſuch calls; and if any members ſhall neglect or refuſe to pay their ſhares of the monies ſo called in, or which the company in purſuance of the ſtatute 9 W. III. cap. 44, or their charters, ſhall call in for carrying on their trade (after notice fixed on the Royal Exchange) that then the company may ſtop the dividends payable to ſuch members, and apply the ſame towards ſuch payment, until it be ſatisfied; and alſo ſtop the transfers of the ſhares of ſuch defaulters, and charge them with intereſt at five per cent. till payment; which being ſtill neglected, the company may in three months ſell ſo much of the defaulters ſtock as will pay the ſame. The above ſum of one million two hundred thouſand pounds, ſhall be deemed an addition to the ſtock of the Engliſh India company, and be free of taxes. The united ſtock of the company ſhall be ſubject to the debts contracted by the ſaid company, and ſuch perſons intitled to ſeven thouſand two hundred pounds, part of the two millions original ſtock, who have not united their ſtock to the corporation's, and who are authoriſed to carry on a trade for their ſeparate uſe, may hold and enjoy the ſaid trade as if this act had

had not been made. But the company may repay the ſame at the end of three years, together with the annuities due thereon, and then the whole trade ſhall be veſted in the ſaid company. Matters of diſpute ſubſiſting between the two companies relative to the union, to be referred to the arbitration of Sidney earl of Godolphin, and after the making the ſaid award, and ſurrender of the charter of the governor and company of merchants trading to the Eaſt-Indies, the perſons who at the time of the ſurrender, purſuant to an indenture tripartite, made between the queen on the firſt part, the ſaid governor and company on the ſecond part, and the ſaid company of the third part, ſhall be directors and managers on the united trade of the Engliſh company, ſhall continue in that quality, until new directors are choſen, according to their charter, dated the 5th of September 10 W. III. provided, that after a time limited, and repayment of the ſaid two millions, and one million two hundred thouſand pounds, and all arrears then due for annuities, which annuities amount to one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds per annum, and upon three years notice, that then the aforeſaid duties on ſalt, &c. and the benefit of trade given by this and the former act and charter to ceaſe. This proviſo is extended as to time, by ſtatute 10 Ann. cap. 28, and the 29th, empowers the company to enter ſuch goods as they ſhall import at the cuſtom-houſe, by bills at ſight or ſufferance, and ſhall give ſecurity under their common ſeal for payment of ſuch cuſtoms and duties as are rated in the book of rates, and upon

upon coffee, to be aſcertained by oath of the importer, viz. for payment of one half at the end of ſix calendar months, and the other half at the end of twelve months; and the cuſtom-houſe officers ſhall grant to the company ſuch bills at ſight or ſufferance, and take ſecurity as aforeſaid, making ſuch allowances and deductions as are made to other merchants paying their cuſtoms at or before the landing their goods and merchandize; but nothing herein contained to extend to alter the method of paying the duties of fifteen per cent. on muſlins and callicoes, or the duties on any other goods to be aſcertained by ſale at the candle.

Soon after the acceſſion of George the firſt to the imperial crown of theſe kingdoms, a new evil was diſcovered, the preventing of which was of conſequence to the intereſts of the whole nation, as well as of the company in particular. This was, that divers perſons had made ſeveral attempts to learn the ſecrets of the affairs of the company for the information of certain foreigners, who projected the ſharing in this lucrative commerce. Wherefore it was enacted by the legiſlative power of the nation (ſtat. 5 Geo. I.) to render ſuch practices ineffectual; that all ſubjects of theſe kingdoms who ſhall ſail or go to the Eaſt-Indies, or ſuch places of Aſia, &c. beyond the cape of Bona Eſperanza, or the ſtraits of Magellan, contrary to the laws in being, or to the tenor of this act, ſhall be liable to the puniſhment inflicted by law for ſuch offence; and it ſhall be lawful for the united company of merchants

chants of England trading to the Eaſt-Indies, and their ſucceſſors, to ſeize ſuch perſons, and to ſend them to England to ſtand trial, and to be puniſhed according to due courſe of law. Every perſon who ſhall ſollicit, procure, obtain, or act under any commiſſion, authority, or paſs from any foreign power, to ſail, or trade to, or in the Eaſt-Indies, ſhall forfeit five hundred pounds, whereof one moiety to the informer, the other to the crown.

Theſe laws did not produce the intended effects; and the profits of the company, who had for ſome years paſt divided ten per cent. upon their capital, excited a general eagerneſs to engage in this trade, and eſpecially amongſt the Engliſh. This gave occaſion, amongſt other projects formed by our neighbours, to the eſtabliſhment of a new company at Oſtend, in which many Engliſh were concerned; for theſe cauſes an act was paſſed in the ninth year of the ſame reign, prohibiting all ſubjects of the three kingdoms from encouraging in any way the eſtabliſhment of any foreign company trading from the Auſtrian Netherlands to any place mentioned in former acts, for ſecuring the excluſive title to that trade to the united Eaſt-India company in England, or to have any intereſt or ſhare in the ſtock or actions of any ſuch foreign company, or to make any payment in money or bills, or any other way whatſoever, towards the promoting or ſupport of that or any other foreign company; the perſons ſo offending to forfeit their intereſt and ſhare in the ſtocks of ſuch company, with treble

treble the value thereof, one third to go to the crown, and the remaining two thirds to the East-India company, in caſe they inform, or ſue for the ſame, otherwiſe one third to go to the common informer, recoverable by action of debt, &c.

The attorney general of his own authority, or at relation of the ſaid united company, and for the company, may file a bill of complaint in the court of Chancery, or of the Exchequer, againſt any perſon who ſhall have ſubſcribed or contributed to, or promoted, or any wiſe become intereſted in the eſtabliſhing of any ſuch foreign East-India company, or the ſtock or trade thereof, for the diſcovery of his offence, remitting or waving the forfeiture of the treble value of the offender's ſtock or concern in any ſuch company, and inſiſting only on the ſingle value. And if thereupon ſuch perſon ſhall anſwer to the bill, and not plead, or demur to the diſcovery thereby ſought; and in caſe the ſingle value only of ſuch intereſt or ſhare ſhall be decreed to be paid, one third part thereof ſhall go to his majeſty, and the other two thirds to the company. If any ſubject ſhall have accepted of any truſt, or know of any intereſt, ſhare, or concern, which any of his majeſty's ſubjects ſhall have in any ſuch foreign company, and ſhall not within ſix months after accepting the truſt, or the coming to the knowledge of any ſuch intereſt, &c. truly diſcover the ſame in writing, to the ſaid united company of England, or their court of directors, he ſhall forfeit treble the value of the ſaid concern, intereſt,

intereſt, &c. ſo accepted in truſt, or ſo known, and not diſcovered; one moiety to the crown, the other to him who will ſue for the ſame, by action of debt, &c. or ſuch offender ſhall, at the diſcretion of the court where the proſecution is commenced, ſuffer one year's impriſonment; and perſons that, within the time above, ſhall voluntarily come to the court of directors, and make a true diſcovery in writing of the intereſt, &c. of any ſubject in the ſtock of ſuch foreign company, ſhall have one half part of the clear amount of the forfeitures ariſing by this act.

Any of his majeſty's ſubjects not lawfully authorized, found in the Eaſt-Indies, are declared guilty of a high miſdemeanour, and may be proſecuted for the ſame, and, if found guilty, ſhall be liable to ſuch corporal puniſhment, impriſonment, or fine, as the court where the proſecution is commenced ſhall ſee fit; and the offenders may be ſeized and brought to England, and any juſtice of the peace may commit them to the next county goal, till ſufficient ſecurity be given by natural born ſubjects, or denizens, for their appearance in court, &c. and not to depart out of the kingdom without leave.

All actions on account of offences againſt this act, or againſt 9 Will. III. cap. 44. or 5 Geo. I. cap. 21, &c. ſhall be laid in London or Middleſex, in the option of the proſecutor; and a capias in the firſt proceſs ſhall iſſue upon any bill, plaint, or indictment, &c. proſecuted for the ſaid offences.

In the ſeventh year of the reign of the ſame prince, a law was paſſed for the better preventing an unlawful, and further ſecuring a lawful trade to the Eaſt-Indies. By this law it was enacted, that all goods ſhiped on board any ſhip for the Eaſt-Indies (except goods of the company, or goods licenced by them, and naval ſtores, proviſions, and neceſſaries for the ſhip in her voyage) and all goods taken out of ſuch ſhips in her voyage homewards from the Eaſt-Indies, and to England, before her arrival here, ſhall be forfeited with double the value, and the maſter or officer of ſuch ſhips, knowingly permitting ſuch goods to be ſo ſhiped, or taken out from on board ſuch ſhips, ſhall for every offence forfeit one thouſand pounds, and ſhall not be entitled to any wages, &c.

Agreements or contracts made, or entered into by any of his majeſty's ſubjects, or in truſt for them, on the loan of monies by way of bottomry, upon any ſhip in the ſervice of foreigners, and bound to the Eaſt-Indies, &c. and all contracts for loading or ſupplying any ſuch ſhip with a cargo of any ſort of goods, merchandize, treaſure or effects, or with proviſions, ſtores, or neceſſaries, and co-partnerſhips entered into with relation to any ſuch voyage, or the profits thereof, and all agreements for the wages of any perſon ſerving on board any ſhip to be employed in ſuch voyage, ſhall be void; and every perſon, ſubject of his majeſty, that ſhall go to the Eaſt-Indies contrary to the laws now in force, ſhall be deemed

a trader, and to have traded there, and all the goods there bartered or trafficked for, or purchaſed by ſuch perſon, or found in his cuſtody, or any other in truſt for him, by his order and procurement, ſhall be forfeited, with double the value.

And by this act it ſhall be lawful for the attorney general, or the company, at any time within ſix years, to file in any of the courts at Weſtminſter, informations againſt clandeſtine traders, and the defendants being found guilty thereof, the court ſhall forthwith proceed to give judgement therein againſt them, &c. It ſhall alſo be lawful for the attorney general at the relation of the company, or by his own authority, to exhibit bills of complaint in the Exchequer, againſt perſons trading to or from the Eaſt-Indies contrary to law, or againſt any perſon concerned as agent, factor or co-partner with ſuch illegal traders, for diſcovering of ſuch their trading, &c. and for the recovering the duties and damages, &c. and ſuch perſons ſhall pay to his majeſty the cuſtoms of the goods of ſuch unlawful trade, and ſhall anſwer to the company thirty per cent. according to the value thereof in England; and if ſuch offenders pay the amount of the cuſtoms of the ſame into the Exchequer, and damages to the company, they ſhall not be otherwiſe proſecuted by this act, or any other ſtatute for the ſame offence; but if a decree be obtained againſt the defendants, they ſhall pay coſts to his majeſty, and the relator reſpectively.

And if ſuch bills (being exhibited at the relation of the company) be diſmiſſed by the court, the company ſhall pay every defendant his full coſts; the forfeitures and penalties herein before appointed, or in former acts relating to the East-India company, may be ſued for, not only by the attorney general, or the ſaid company, but alſo by any officer of the cuſtoms, ſuch officer having the conſent and order of the court of directors, as by the act is particularly required; and one third of all ſuch penalties ſhall be to the crown, one third to the company, and the remaining third to ſuch officers of the cuſtoms as ſhall inform and ſue as aforeſaid. The united company ſhall be allowed to ſhip out ſtores, proviſions, utenſils of war, and neceſſaries for maintaining their garriſons and ſettlements, free of all duties, ſo as the duties, if they had been paid, do not exceed in any one year three hundred pounds. No East-India goods to be imported into Ireland, or the Plantations, but from Great Britain, on pain of forfeiting ſhip and goods, &c.

Thus we have ſeen the company engaged in a conſtant ſtruggle with difficulties, partly owing to the evil maxims of ſome perſons about the prince, who made them buy every favour at a prodigious ranſom; and partly from the Dutch, who had this advantage over the Engliſh company, that they had all the aſſiſtance their government was able to give, and were permitted to diſpoſe and manage their own affairs as to them ſeemed moſt conducive to their intereſts, in a ſo-

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vereign and independent manner. The caſe has been much altered of late years, for the advantage of the Engliſh company, the legiſlature having taken into their protection the concerns of a body from which the government has reaped ſo much benefit. So that the company has for ſome time been gaining upon the Dutch, at leaſt in thoſe countries where both nations enjoy equal freedom to trade, and where the ſucceſs depends principally upon the choice and good opinion of the natives. The company have in a particular manner extended their ſettlements in the iſland of Sumatra, having no leſs than three ſeveral eſtabliſhments upon it, Bencoolen, Aken, and Sillebar; but the firſt of theſe was the moſt conſiderable of all, and firſt began to flouriſh about the year 1685. In proceſs of time they became ſo conſiderable, that ſeveral of the petty ſovereigns of the iſland began to put themſelves under their protection, hoping thereby to ſcreen themſelves from the power of the Dutch, at the ſame time that they enjoyed the benefit of trading with their rivals the Engliſh. Nor has their attachment to their new maſters ever been called in queſtion, notwithſtanding that their treatment has not always been to be defended. What principally determined the company to ſettle on this part of Sumatra, was the convenience of the pepper trade carried on from Lampour, a commodious poſt ſeated at the bottom of a deep bay, twenty leagues within the ſtraits of Sunda. The company had enjoyed the profits of this eſtabliſhment till they were drove out by the Dutch

in 1683, when the king of Bantam, in whoſe dominions this place lies, was compelled by the Dutch to break off all correſpondence with the Engliſh.

The good correſpondence which the factors ſettled at Bencoolen entertained with the inland princes of the iſland, was what induced the chief to remove from Bencoolen in the year 1719, where great numbers of Engliſh died every year thro' the unhealthfulneſs of the place. For theſe reaſons, they made choice of a place a few miles diſtant, whereon they were to erect a new fort under the name of Marlborough Fort. The work was now conſiderably advanced, when the natives dreading a ſtrength which threatened their liberty, laid ſchemes for the deſtruction of the power of the company in their iſland. So that a general inſurrection enſued, thoſe of the country people who were in pay of the company deſerting to the enemy, after having ſet fire to the fort, and the enemy had already entered Bencoolen, where all the Europeans were put to death to a man. The remaining Engliſh were therefore obliged to conſult their own ſafety, and to withdraw, and after having ſecured on board a ſhip, the company's treaſure, books, and effects, they embarked for Batavia. The Engliſh however found means to return the year following, where they continued to work on the fortifications of Fort Marlborough, unmoleſted by the natives. The chiefs employed by the Engliſh company had been guilty of ſome indiſcretions, which being light in compariſon of the tyranny of the Dutch,

the Malayans out of dread of the latter were willing to put up with, and gave the Engliſh all manner of encouragement at their new ſettlement Marlborough Fort, a place incomparably more wholſome than Bencoolen, notwithſtanding its vicinity to this latter. Beſides, as the Fort of Marlborough is a place of much greater ſtrength than York Fort (at Bencoolen) the ſervants of the company are free from any apprehenſions of a ſurprize from the natives. So that every thing contributes to extend the traffic and conſequence of the company on this iſland. Theſe ſucceſſes, joined to the care of the company in the choice of perſons of prudence and abilities to be employed in the Indies in quality of chiefs, have given their affairs a new face; and it has been ſaid, that had it not been for the loſſes ſuſtained by the eſtabliſhment of new companies abroad, they ſhould ſoon have been in a condition to have doubled their dividends, the benefit of which was laid open by the exhibition of the company's books, and of the amounts of their ſales, a ſtep occaſioned by the clamour then raiſed with reſpect to the decay of trade. This conduct of the miniſtry was what gave occaſion to the riſe of many new attempts by foreigners to obtain a ſhare in a traffic which they ſaw attended with ſuch prodigious returns.

The propoſals made at this time for laying the trade of the company open, ſeconded by clamorous complaints of the injuſtice of a monopoly, by which a body of private merchants ſatiated their avarice at the expence of the whole nation,

gave them freſh alarms, which were increaſed by the circumſtances of the times, when they had all the reaſon in the world to be apprehenſive of the effects of popular clamour. Wherefore a new negociation was ſet on foot with the adminiſtration, wherein they made propoſals highly for the benefit of the government, on condition that they were ſecured in the poſſeſſion of their excluſive title to the Eaſt-India trade, in ſuch manner as to free them from all future apprehenſions. A law was ſoon paſſed, by which all their powers and privileges were confirmed in the manner they deſired. It was hereby enacted, that the company do, on or before a certain day fixed, pay into the Exchequer two hundred thouſand pounds, to be applied towards the ſupplies granted to his majeſty, for which no intereſt ſhall be paid, nor any addition be made to the capital of the company by the public on account thereof, nor the ſame nor any other part of it be paid to the company. That after the twenty-ninth day of September, 1730, the annuity or yearly fund of one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds, ſhall be reduced to one hundred and twenty-eight thouſand pounds, in reſpect of the capital ſtock or debt of three millions two hundred thouſand pounds, which annuity ſo reduced ſhall be charged on the ſame duties and revenues by the like weekly or quarterly payments, and with the ſame proviſions for making good deficiencies in the ſaid reduced funds, as their preſent fund or annuity is now charged on, till other proviſion is made by parliament with conſent of the company. But that

that upon one year's notice by parliament after the twenty-fifth day of March 1736, after the expiration of that year, and on repayment of the ſaid debt of three millions two hundred thouſand pounds to the company, and all arrears of their reduced annuity of one hundred and twenty-eight thouſand pounds, which ſhall be due at the end of the ſaid year; then and from thenceforwards, the ſaid annuity or yearly fund ſhall ceaſe and be no longer payable. And at any time after the ſaid twenty-fifth of March, after a year's notice by parliament, and after the ſaid year is expired, upon repayment made to the company of any ſum not leſs than five hundred thouſand pounds, part of the capital ſtock of three millions two hundred thouſand pounds, and on payment of all arrears then due on their reduced annuity, that after ſuch payments made, ſuch part of the ſaid annuity as ſhall bear a certain proportion to the capital ſo paid in part, ſhall ceaſe and be abated; and ſo from time to time, upon ſuch yearly notices, and payment of ſuch other ſums in part of the ſaid capital ſtock, till the whole of their annuity be entirely ſunk and determined. Notwithſtanding any ſuch redemption, all perſons intitled to any intereſt in the ſtock, &c. of the ſaid company, ſhall be and continue a body politic and corporate with perpetual ſucceſſion, with power to purchaſe lands, &c. in Great Britain, not exceeding ten thouſand pounds in value at any one purchaſe, with full enjoyment of all powers, privileges and immunities, as by former charters have been granted, with power to declare what ſhare in their remaining capital ſhall qualify mem-

bers to be directors, or to vote in their general courts. The company ſhall, notwithſtanding the ſaid redemption, continue to enjoy the whole and ſole trade to the Eaſt-Indies, &c. but with the proviſo of determination herein after contained. Perſons, other than the factors, &c. of the ſaid company, ſailing or trading to the Eaſt-Indies, &c. ſhall forfeit the ſhips ſo employed with the goods laden therein, and double the value, to be ſued for, recovered and diſtributed as by the 7 Geo. I. cap. 21. is directed. The company ſhall enjoy all the powers granted them by former charters, &c. and not changed by this act, freed and diſcharged from all proviſo's of redemption, &c. as fully as if the ſame were herein repeated, but ſubject to the reſtrictions contained in ſuch acts and letters patent now in force, as alſo to the proviſions following, viz. Provided that upon three years notice by parliament, after the twenty-fifth of March 1736, and repayment made to the company of their capital ſtock of three millions two hundred thouſand pounds, and all arrears of annuities payable in reſpect thereof; then and from thenceforth the right, title, and intereſt of the ſaid company, to the entire, ſole, and excluſive trade to and from the Eaſt-Indies, ſhall ceaſe and determine. But after the ſaid determination of the company's right, &c. the corporation may, with all or part of their joint-ſtock, &c. trade to thoſe parts in common with others the ſubjects of his majeſty. Any notice in writing from the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, to be deemed a due and proper notice by parliament. Nothing in this act to extend to ſubject the Levant company

pany to any penalties and forfeitures on account of their traffic in the Levant ſeas; nor reſtrain any trade within any of the limits of the Eaſt-India company, that the South-ſea company are any way intitled to.

Thus the reader has ſeen the foundation and firſt beginnings of the commerce of the Eaſt-India company under queen Elizabeth; the progreſs made in it in conſequence of the regulations made, with a view of promoting ſo national a concern; the various viciſſitudes of good and bad fortune their affairs have undergone, whether from their enemies the Indians and Dutch, the negligence and ill conduct of her governors and ſervants abroad, and the ſtill more pernicious practices of miniſterial craft, by which vaſt ſums of money have been drawn from them, for privileges which are ever precarious; and laſtly, their happy and flouriſhing eſtate, from the time that their own conſequence, and the ſervices done the ſtate, brought the whole body of the legiſlature to become their patrons and protectors. We ſhall now proceed with all poſſible brevity to lay before the reader a ſmall account of the poſſeſſions and ſettlements belonging to this wealthy body.

The firſt in order, is Gombroon or Gambroon, on the coaſt of Perſia, which owes its wealth and grandeur to the demolition of Ormus, and the downfall of the Portugueze power in the Indies. This city, lying in the latitude of 27° 40' north, and juſtly accounted one of the greateſt marts in the eaſt, was built by the great Shah Abas,

Abas, from whence it has obtained the name which prevails amongſt the Perſians, Bander Abaſſi, or the court of Abas. The Engliſh began to ſettle here about the year 1613, when in recompence for the ſervices of that nation againſt the Portugueze, the Shah Abas granted them half the cuſtoms of that port. However, this revenue was at laſt reduced to one thouſand tomans a year, that is, in our money, three thouſand three hundred thirty-three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence: this having alſo of late been but ill paid, if it is true that any of it is now in their poſſeſſion. The company ſtill maintains a noble factory here, and where all their trade of the Perſian empire is carried on; a branch of commerce which takes off a prodigious quantity of European commodities. This eſtabliſhment had ſuffered greatly by the civil commotions that tore this empire about the year 1720, though as the affairs of that ſtate have been ſince that reduced to order and tranquillity, it is probable the company have reinſtated their commerce at Gambroon in its wonted ſplendor and importance.

Their ſecond ſettlement is that of Mocha, a city ſeated at the entrance of the Red-ſea (lat. 13° 11′ N.) a place of great traffic, where the Engliſh nation are much careſſed, and carry on an infinite trade for coffee and other commodities, as well as in all the adjacent ports of Arabia. One inconvenience which the company ſhares here in conjunction with other nations, is the violence and exaction of the Arab princes; nor is it entirely free from the depredations of pirates which infeſt thoſe parts.

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On the coaſt of India they are poſſeſſed of forts, or factories, or ſettlements, at Baroach, Swally, Surat, Bombay, Dabul, Carwar, Tellechery, Anjengo, Fort St. David, Conymere, all of them on the Malabar ſhore.

On that of Coromandel ſtands Fort St. George, the capital of the Engliſh company's dominions in the Indies. This place is ſituated in one of the moſt incommodious ſpots imaginable; the ſea beats perpetually with prodigious violence on the ſand whereon it ſtands; there is no freſh water within a mile of it; it is ſubject to inundations from the river in the rainy ſeaſon; and the ſun from April to September inſufferably hot, the ſea breezes being the only circumſtance that renders it habitable. The reaſon of this bad choice for a ſettlement is variouſly related. The perſon entruſted by the company about the beginning of the reign of Charles II. to build a fortreſs on that coaſt, according to ſome accounts, made choice of this place as the moſt proper to ruin the trade of the Portugueze ſettlement at St. Thomas; while others aſſert, that his only motive was to be nearer a miſtreſs he had at the Portugueſe colony. This is however certain, that there were ſeveral places in the neighbourhood, free from moſt or all of theſe inconveniencies. The war carried on by the company at Bombay and Bengal, in 1685, to 1689, againſt the Mogul's ſubjects, was a conſiderable advantage to Madras. The tranquillity which reigned here, and the vicinity to the diamond mines of Golconda, where there are frequent good purchaſes to be made, cauſed a prodigious

prodigious reſort of Indian and Black merchants to this place, and thus principally contributed to render it populous and flouriſhing. The town is divided into two parts: that inhabited by Europeans is called the White town, is walled round, and can only be attacked at two places, the ſea and river defending the reſt; there are two churches here, one for the Engliſh, the other for the Roman communion. It is alſo a corporation, had a mayor and aldermen choſen by the free burghers, but the governor and his party are generally thought to determine the choice. It had beſides laws and ordinances of its own, a court in form, conſiſting of the mayor and aldermen in their gowns, with maces before them, a clerk, attorneys, ſollicitors &c. tho' the author from whence this account is taken, alledges, that in matters of conſequence, a few pagadoes well placed, could turn the ſcales of juſtice, the cauſe generally going according to the favour and inclination of the governor; but that in trifling affairs there is not the ſame cauſe of complaint. The governor has or aſſumes a diſpenſing power to annull all its tranſactions. They have no power of inflicting capital puniſhment, except for piracy only; ſo that crimes of another nature are ſometimes made to infer piracy, out of perſonal views, or from other cauſes. Thus, ſays my author, a private trader, if he has the misfortune to incur the diſpleaſure of a governor, is ſoon found guilty of piracy. That part called the Black town is inhabited by Gentows, Mohammedans, Chriſtians of India, as Portugueze and Armenians, there being temples and

and churches for each religion, all perſuaſions being tolerated. Governor Pitt walled it in toward the land, out of fear that the Mogul's generals in Golconda might ſome time or other plunder it. The government of both towns are abſolutely veſted in the governor, who likewiſe commands in chief in military concerns; all other affairs of the company are managed by the governor and his council in conjunction, and moſt of thoſe are alſo ſaid to be his creatures. The company have their mint here for coining of money, from bullion brought from Europe and elſewhere, into rupees, and this brings them a conſiderable revenue. They alſo coin gold into pagados of different denominations and value. The diamond mines lie at a week's journey from this place. When a perſon goes to the mines with deſign to trade, he firſt makes choice of a piece of ground to dig in, and then acquaints the king's officers appointed for that ſervice of his intentions. The money for leave to dig being paid, the ground is incloſed, and centinels placed round it. All ſtones above a certain weight (ſixty grains) belong to the king. Frauds in this particular, are puniſhed with death. Some get eſtates, whilſt others loſe their money, their labour, and their expectations. The trade of Madras was ſome time ago thought to be upon the decline, through the oppreſſion of the ſervants of the company, which has alſo cauſed many merchants to withdraw. This colony produces little of its own growth, and next to no manufactures for foreign trade. The Moors, Gentows, and Armenians, have got poſſeſſion of the

the trade they were wont to carry on to Pegu, the Engliſh being now chiefly employed in ſhip-building. The people of Surat ſhare in their trade to China; the gold and ſome copper only are for their own market; the groſs of their cargoes of ſugar, ſugar-candy, allum, china-ware, and ſome drugs, are all deſtined for Surat. Their trade to Perſia is carried on by way of the river Ganges. The trade to Mocha in Coromandel goods, began in the year 1713, Fort St David ſupplying the goods for that market. So that the trade of Fort St. George is altogether, like that of Holland, carried on with ſupplying foreign markets with foreign productions. There are computed to be in the towns and villages belonging to this colony eighty thouſand people (this was ſome time ago) five hundred of theſe Europeans. They have rice from Ganjam and Orixa, wheat from Surat and Bengal, and fuel from the iſlands of Diu, near Matchulipatam. Thus are they eaſily diſtreſſed by any enemy, whoſe power at ſea is ſuperior to theirs. The governor is a perſon of great power, and treated like a prince by the rajahs of the country. He is attended abroad in a magnificent manner, having beſides his Engliſh guards, ſeldom fewer than three or fourſcore perſons in arms. Two union flags are carried before him, with a band of muſic, ſuch as is uſed in that country. There are two perſons near him, whoſe office is to cool him with fans, and chace away the flies.

There were formerly ſeveral other European ſettlements on the ſame coaſt, but all of them abandoned,

abandoned, on account of the exactions of the rajahs of the adjacent countries. Matchulipatam was the laſt quitted by the Engliſh, eſteemed about ſixty years ago the moſt flouriſhing colony in the Indies. Their houſe is now quite deſerted. Some time ago the Mogul's viceroy on this coaſt, made the governor of Fort St. George an offer of the iſlands of Diu in a preſent, and the inhabitants were very well ſatisfied at the thoughts of being under the government of the company. But this propoſal not being ſoon enough accepted of, the viceroy and people changed their minds, and refuſed to let the governor erect a factory when he would willingly have done it.

Next to this ſtands Narſipore, where the company had a factory for long cloths, for the uſe of their ſettlement at Matchulipatam. Not far from hence is Angerang, ſeated on a deep river which is navigable a great way up the country. This place is famous for the fineſt long cloth which the Indies produce; but the impoſitions of the rajahs, who poſſeſs the banks of the river, on the cloth tranſported on it, has ruined the place. The Engliſh factory eſtabliſhed here in the year 1708, was ſoon withdrawn.

Amongſt ſeveral ſmall ports along the ſhore, Wahow is the moſt noted, producing abundance of rice for exportation, beſides ſome cloth. It is not frequented by Europeans.

A little farther you find Vizagapatam, an Engliſh fortified factory, with eighteen carriage guns mounted on its ramparts. The country round it affords fine and ordinary cotton cloths, and the beſt dureas

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or muſlins in all India. Want of money to purchaſe is the ruin of this ſettlement. In the year 1709, the nabob of Chikacul levyed war upon this factory, the cauſe whereof was, that their former chief had borrowed monies of him on the company's ſeal, which his ſucceſſor (for he was dead) refuſed to pay. The nabob applied to the governor of Fort St. George, but with no better ſucceſs. Wherefore he came againſt Vizagapatam with an armed force, and the war which was drawn out into a conſiderable length, growing burdenſome to the company, the affair was at laſt compromiſed, upon paying the nabob a ſum almoſt equal to what he demanded. The places we have now ſpoke of, lie in the kingdom of Golconda.

Next to this is that of Orixa. In this country lays Ballaſore, on a river of the ſame name, four miles from the ſea by land, though by windings of the river 'tis no leſs than twenty. The country abounds in commodities of its own growth, ſuch as rice, wheat, gram, doll, calavances, pulſe of ſeveral ſorts, anniſe, cummin, coriander, and carraway ſeeds, tobacco, butter, oil, and bees-wax; and alſo in manufactures of cotton, in ſanis, caſſes, dimities, mulmuls, ſilk romals, and romals of ſilk and cotton; gurrahs, and lungies, and of herba (a ſort of graſs) are made ginghams, pinaſcos, and ſeveral other ſorts of goods for exportation. The Engliſh, French, and Dutch have factories here, at preſent of ſmall conſideration in compariſon of former times, before the improvement of the navigation of Hughly river

cauſed

cauſed their decline. This place drives a good trade to the Maldives, which, as they afford no grain of themſelves, receive hence all neceſſaries they have occaſion for. This was formerly the principal European ſettlement in the bay of Bengal. Here are pilots for conducting the ſhipping which arrive from April to October, up the river Hughly (a branch of the Ganges) each company maintaining pilots for their own ſhipping, who have liberty to ſerve ſtrangers when they are not wanted by their own employers, from whence they reap conſiderable benefit.

Piply, ſeated on a river ſuppoſed to be a branch of the Ganges. This was formerly ſettled by the Dutch and Engliſh, and is now reduced to beggary from the ſame cauſe as the preceding. The country produces the ſame commodities with Ballaſore. It is now inhabited by fiſhers.

Advancing five leagues on the weſtern bank of the river Hughly, you come to the river Ganga, another branch of the Ganges, which though broader than Hughly river, is more incommodious for ſhipping, by reaſon of the ſand banks in it. The Danes have a thatched houſe a little below the opening of this river. There are many villages and farm houſes in thoſe vaſt plains, which lie along the banks of Hughly river; but no town of any conſequence till you arrive at Culculla, a mart for corn, butter, oil, coarſe cloth, and other country commodities. A little higher up, is the place where the Dutch ſhips ride, when the current of the river does not allow them to proceed farther. This place, as alſo

Juanpardao, is ſeated on a great and deep river which runs eaſtwards, and on the weſt of it runs a river which waſhes the back of Hughly iſland, and leads up to Radugur, famous for the cotton-cloths, and ſilk romals, or handkerchiefs, of its manufacture. Buſſundri, Freſindi or Gorgat, and Cohong, are places ſituated on the ſame river, and produce vaſt quantities of the fineſt ſugar in Bengal.

Near to this is Fort William, of which we have already ſpoken, the greateſt ſettlement the company have on this coaſt. The company have but ſmall traffic in the kingdom of Daca, the firſt on the eaſtern ſhore of the Ganges, no more than in thoſe of Aracan, Ava, or Pegu, lying in order on the ſame coaſt. The iſlands along it are entirely uninhabited, and ſo no commerce can ſubſiſt in them.

Going along the ſhore of the continent, you come to Merjee, a town ſituated on the banks of the Tanacerin, in the dominions of the king of Siam. This place enjoys a good harbour, and the country about produces rice, timber for building, tin, elephants teeth, and agale-wood. There were formerly ſettled at this port, a conſiderable number of Engliſh free merchants, who took advantage of the mildneſs of the government to drive a conſiderable commerce, till they were ordered thence by the old Eaſt-India company, who threatened the king of Siam with a war, if he continued to harbour them; therefore, one Weldon was diſpatched to Merjee, with this meſſage, who added the outrageous murder

of

of ſome of the Siameſe, to the inſolence where-with he provoked the government. The people reſolved to be revenged for this barbarity, and lay in wait for Weldon by night when he was aſhore. But he having got notice of their deſign, made his eſcape on board his ſhip, and the Siameſe miſſing him, vented their fury upon all Engliſhmen indiſcriminately that fell into their hands. Seventy-ſix were maſſacred in this mnnner, ſcarce twenty eſcaping to the ſhip. Hitherto the Engliſh had been greatly careſſed by the Siameſe nation, having been promoted to places of the higheſt truſt in the government. One was advanced to be head of the cuſtoms at Tanacerin and Merjee, and another promoted to be admiral of the royal navy. A great revolution which fell out at this time in the Siameſe ſtate, and the jealouſies of the Engliſh company, cauſed moſt of the Engliſh merchants to diſperſe themſelves, ſome to Fort St. George, others to Bengal, and others to Achen. The affairs of the company have been fully reinſtated ſince that time in their former flouriſhing condition, and they now enjoy the benefit of the commerce of the Gulph of Bengal, from the mouths of the Ganges to the extremity of the promontory of Malacca, without being at any charge for ſettlements, forts, or factories.

Sumatra. The company are believed to poſſeſs the beſt part of all the trade carried on in this iſland. Their factories are thoſe of Mocha, Bantal, Cattoun, Bencoolen, Marlborough Fort, and Sillebar. The Dutch, by being poſſeſſed of the neighbouring iſland of Java, have had the addreſs

to fix themſelves on part of this iſland, where they are ſaid to be in poſſeſſion of a gold mine which turns to ſmall account to the poſſeſſors. It is not to be doubted but the Engliſh company act with as much conduct in neglecting to ſearch after gold, as being no doubt ſenſible that commerce is of itſelf the richeſt mine in the world. There is no country under the ſun which produces this precious metal in greater quantities than the iſland of Sumatra, the empires of China and Japan only excepted; and no perſon can reaſonably alledge that the manner in which theſe nations have amaſſed ſo prodigious a treaſure is not the beſt. Now 'tis certain that theſe have acquired ſo much wealth by no other arts but induſtry and parſimony, the only certain way of enriching either nations or private perſons. The company therefore act wiſely in neglecting the mines on the iſland of Sumatra, which muſt be ſecured at the expence of forts and garriſons, and worked at the hazard of gaining the averſion of the natives, whoſe lazineſs hinders them from working them for themſelves. Beſides, thoſe mines do not in any way approach the idea entertained of their riches. One reaſon whereof may be the following, that as all the numerous nations inhabiting the different parts of this iſland, are continually employed in picking up the gold which the torrents have waſhed into the ſands of their channels, or diſcovered in the crannies of the rocks, not only a much greater quantity of metal muſt be this way found, but alſo may be much eaſier come by to the Europeans ſettled on the iſland, than the painful

painful ſearch for it in the mines, attended with numberleſs inſurmountable diſcouragements and inconveniencies, which the Dutch in their way of mining muſt inevitably undergo. The only certain and adviſeable method therefore of acquiring the benefit of the gold trade in the iſland of Sumatra is, by ſettling colonies in the moſt convenient parts, to uſe the inhabitants with gentleneſs and affability, to obſerve the moſt exact juſtice in all dealings with them, and thus by degrees to bring them into an eſteem of European manners, the only way to engage them to uſe or take off European commodities. Thus the danger of ſecuring the obedience of ſo many barbarous nations with a few men will be avoided; a correſpondence will be maintained, which will draw vaſt quantities of gold into Europe, and that in return for thoſe commodities which give bread to infinite multitudes of poor at home, the real and only ſolid riches of any ſtate; and navigation and naval power will be promoted; all of them powerful reaſons in vindication of the company's conduct in this particular, that they overlook the working the mines of Sumatra, a ſpecies of traffic which is generally attended with luxury and idleneſs (as in Spain,) and is indeed the bane and deſtruction of all induſtry, and of every other ſpecies of buſineſs whatſoever.

The Engliſh were formerly in poſſeſſion of ſeveral ſettlements on the coaſts of the Chineſe empire, as well as in the kingdom of Tonquin, all of them now withdrawn; tho' the company ſtill do carry on trade to thoſe parts, eſpecially to

Tonquin, for ſuch articles as they want themſelves, or can afford for the commerce of Europe, which latter are abundantly numerous. The company's factory was formerly ſettled in the iſland of Chuſan, when the trade was carried on at Amoyor, from whence it has been removed to Canton, where about forty years ago it flouriſhed to ſuch a degree, that the company had great hopes of being able to engroſs this beneficial branch to themſelves. What defeated theſe expectations was, the high duties laid upon teas and other Chineſe commodities, which by the encouragement this tax gave to ſmuggling, ſoon reduced the company's China trade to as low an ebb as that of other countries. As part of theſe duties have been taken off ſince the above impoſitions, it is to be preſumed that this commerce goes on with its ancient proſperity; one thing is certain, that ſince this eaſe has been granted by the government, they have found the advantage of it by the increaſe of the revenue ariſing therefrom; whether this is alſo a national advantage, let others determine.

The company are in ſome ſort excluded from all correſpondence with the Manilla or Philippine iſlands, notwithſtanding what the French alledge in pretending that the Engliſh carry on this trade under Iriſh colours, and that to a conſiderable extent, whatever may be really done in this way under the Moriſco or Portugueze flags. The cuſtom of the Spaniſh nation in this particular is without example, in laying open this trade to all nations, contrary to all the known maxims of that monarchy,

monarchy, the Engliſh and Dutch being the only nations excluded from this unprecedented indulgence, a precaution of ſmall conſequence where the people of the country find it their intereſt to overlook it.

In Japan there is not the leaſt veſtige of any Engliſh commerce, all the commodities of that empire with which our company is ſupplied, being furniſhed by means of their commerce with the Chineſe and Dutch.

The following account of this traffic from a perſon who is far from being prejudiced in favour of the company, may poſſibly convey a juſter idea of the nature and extent of the company's commerce than any thing hitherto ſaid in this eſſay. The errors found in it will I hope be imputed to the true author, who has not thought proper to oblige the world with his name, or rather to the nature of the thing, in itſelf ſufficiently dark and intricate, and beſides moſt carefully hid from the eyes of the vulgar. His authorities however ſeem to be ſufficiently ſolid, being chiefly the public accounts of the company's ſales and other tranſactions, at leaſt ſo far as regards his own plan, which was to repreſent this corporation as an inſtitution highly prejudicial to to the trade and commerce of Great Britain.

This traffic, ſays my author, employs yearly ſeventeen ſail of fine capital ſhips, each of the burden of five hundred tons, by the company's account, mounting thirty guns, and manned with one hundred mariners. He then proceeds to give his readers the

Account or Invoice of the Exports to India.

		£		
1442	tons iron at 15 l.	21630	0	0
610	. . ordnance and wrought iron at 50 l. . .	30500	0	0
450	. . ſteel at 50 l. . . .	22500	0	0
180	. . nails at 25 l. . . .	4500	0	0
895	. . lead at 17 l. . . .	15215	0	0
800	. . cordage at 40 l. . .	32000	0	0
550	. . ſtores at	305000	0	0
260	. . braſs, copper, pewter at 100 l. . . .	26000	0	0
100	. . gunpowder at 80 l. .	8000	0	0
32	. . quickſilver at 300 l. .	9600	0	0
18175	woollen cloths at . .	110000	0	0
23220	ſtuffs at	50000	0	0
37469	perpets at . . .	40000	0	0
3000	doz. hoſe at	3000	0	0
11076	oz. gold in coin or bullion at 3 l. 18 s. per oz.	43196	8	0

Note, the quantity of gold exported next year, viz. 1754, amounted to 38092 oz. in coin, and 2977 oz. in bullion.

2991251	oz. ſilver at 5s. 3d. per oz.	785203	7	9

The quantity exported the year following, 1754, was 2,327,329 oz. in coin and bullion.

Tot. amount of cargoes outwards	1,503344	15	9

Note, there were no more than fourteen ſhips cleared

cleared outwards this year, and that the above quantity of gold and ſilver bullion is excluſive of what is carried out by private traders, both in foreign and Britiſh coin, whereof it is impoſſible to fix or aſcertain the value.

Follows the account or invoice of goods imported from India, with the value ſold for at the public ſales.

Piece-goods of the Ships

Wager, Prince of Wales, and Exeter, ſold at	£	250000	0 0
Scarborough		225000	0 0
Houghton, excluſive of tea and ſilk		10000	0 0
Admiral Vernon		175000	0 0
Edgcote, beſides tea		10000	0 0
Drake and Rhoda, beſides weighable goods		15000	0 0
Prince George and Streatham, do.		9000	0 0
Cheſterfield		240000	0 0
Pelham		85000	0 0
Bombay-Caſtle		215000	0 0
Oxford		195000	0 0
Hector, beſides 500 tons pepper		50000	0 0
Dorrington		194000	0 0
Seventeen ſhips, whoſe cargoes in piece-goods amount to		1,673000	0 0

Brought over	1,673000	0 0
These ships do also bring home, 3253900 lb. tea, which at 4s. per lb. gross price at the sales . . .	642475	0 0
2000000 lb. pepper at 1s. ditto	100000	0 0
1141000 lb. coffee at 1s. 6d.	85575	0 0
203850 lb. raw silk at 20s. do.	203850	0 0
900 tons salt-petre at 70l. per ton, ditto	63000	0 0
250 tons red-wood at 30l. ditto . .	7500	0 0
600 chests china ware and drugs, ditto	99600	0 0
Total inwards . . . . £.	2,875000	0 0

From which take off custom, charges, and discount, viz.

Custom.

	Value	pay per cent.	
	£.		£.
Callicoes . .	1,250,000	$38\frac{1}{4}$	478125
Prohibited goods	400,000	2	8000
Tea . . .	650,000	19	123500
Pepper . . .	100,000	4	4000
Silk raw . .	200,000	$12\frac{1}{2}$	25000
	2,600,000		638625

Brought

Brought over .	2,600,000		638625
Coffee . . .	85,000	22½	20500
Salt-petre . .	60,000	10	6000
Red-wood . .	5,000	10	500
China ware and drugs . .	100,000	30	30000
Valuation . .	2,850,000	tot.duties	695625

Charges.

	£.
Freight on 8500 tons ſhipping, at 10l.	85,000
Wages and proviſions for 1700 men, at 5l. per month	204,000
Intereſt on bonds, 2 years, at 3l. per cent.	90,000
Directors, clerks, &c. 10,000l. per annum	20,000
Warehouſes, coſt 100,000l. at 8 per cent.	16,000
Shipping and landing of 8500 tons	8,500
Total of charges	£. 423,500

Diſcount.

On 2,875,000l. at 6½ per cent.	186,875
Total of cuſtom, charges, and diſcount to be taken off	1,306,000
Net proceeds do not exceed	£. 1,569,000

My

My author takes notice, that the cargoes of ſeventeen ſhips are here allowed to be returned, whereas no more than fourteen were actually loaded outwards; he had before obſerved, that the manufactures in braſs, copper, iron, pewter, and other materials, did not exceed the value of 300,000l. He likewiſe omits to charge any thing for inſurance. There is moreover 5 per cent. allowed over the real prices at the candle, amounting as he ſays (by way of irony probably) to the ſmall ſum of 140,000l. All which particulars he ſays, will ſerve to anſwer all objections againſt his ſyſtem. He then ſtates the account of profit and loſs on a voyage to India, thus,

Account of profit and loſs on a voyage to India.

	Dr.		
1753.	To the coſt of 17 cargoes bought in England, as per invoices . . .	£. 1,503,344	15 9
1754.	To profit and loſs for advance	65,655	4 3
		£. 1,569,000	0 0
	Cr.		
1754.	By net proceeds of 17 cargoes ſold in England as per account of ſales .	£. 1,569,000	0 0

Then

Then follows capital ſtock account.

Dr.

To ſundry accounts for two years dividends due on 3,200,000l. at 8 per cent. per ann. . .	£. 512000	0 0

Cr.

By voyage to India gained thereby	£. 65655	4 3
By government ſecurities for two years intereſt on 3,200,000l. lent them at 3 per cent. . .	192000	0 0
By profit and loſs, for loſs on capital	254344	15 9
	£. 512000	0 0

Follows

Follows the account of Indian goods ſold to, and paid for by foreigners.

578400 callicoes at 13s. 4d. being one third above the cuſtom-houſe valuation, which at 10s. only, the utmoſt price on board . . . £. 395600 0 0

Prohibibited goods.

50	allejars	2650	nillaes
3800	bandannoes	300	niccanees
500	brawls	50	neganepauts
550	byrampauts	1500	photees
850	blue long cloths	100	paduaſoys
7000	chints	100	poiſees
2400	chelloes	100	palampores
1400	carridarries	41000	romals
400	cherconnees	10500	ſooſeys
650	chilaes	200	ſekterſoy romals
55	callawapores	1000	taffaties
200	gorgoroons	1200	ſaſtracundies,
900	Guinea ſtuffs		and others

valued at £. 72750 0 0

Weighable goods.

1850000	lb. pepper at 1s.	£. 92500	0 0
700000	lb. coffee at 1s. 3d.	43750	0 0
All other goods, as cowries, arrangoes, ſhell-lack, turmeric, cardamoms, &c. &c. at . .		45400	0 0
Total val. at price free on board		£. 650000	0 0

Note,

Note, the above goods all of them bought up at ready money by Engliſh private merchants, to be by them exported, are over-rated (according to my author) near 100000l.

This detail is cloſed by ſtating the national account of a voyage to India.

Dr.

To the export of woollen manufactures . .	£.	200000	0 0
To ditto of copper, braſs, and iron ditto		100000	0 0
To ditto of lead, iron and ſtores		374945	0 0
To ditto of ſilver and gold bullion		828399	15 9
To two years intereſt on 1,500000l.		90000	0 0
	£.	1,593344	15 9

Cr.

By commodities re-exported	£.	650000	0 0
By uſeful imports		283344	15 9
By national loſs for bullion exported without one valuable return . . .		660000	0 0
	£.	1,593344	15 9

My

My author then tells us, that in the ſeveral matters here before us, it is not alledged that they are drawn up with that accuracy which books of accounts could furniſh materials for; but that from thoſe which are, and muſt neceſſarily be, made known in the carrying on this public truſt, the accomptant has with the utmoſt care, from theſe rambling papers (printed papers of the ſales, &c. of the company) extracted an impartial and juſt balance (equitably conſidered) of the real ſtate of this branch of trade, both in regard to the nation, their ſtock and bond-creditors; but yet not giving up the claim and right of mercantile accounts, that of errors being always excepted.

We are now arrived at that long agitated controverſy with reſpect to this commerce to the Eaſt-Indies, viz. whether this trade is not in general a deſtructive trade to the nation, and whether the preſent method of carrying it on by an excluſive company is not in itſelf injuſt, and contrary to the known intereſt of theſe kingdoms? I am very far from being willing to engage in a diſpute for which I am of all men the leaſt qualified; I ſhall therefore content myſelf with adducing the reaſons commonly urged on both ſides, by thoſe who have had greater opportunities than myſelf, and who having more concern in the event, muſt of conſequence be ſuppoſed to have made it more their ſtudy. At the ſame time, I ſhall make free with the reflections of an author to whom I have all along lain under obligations in this work, and which I have already taken notice of more than once.

The arguments commonly alledged by thoſe who do not favour the monopoly are, that this commerce, as it cauſes a prodigious exportation of ſilver, the common meaſure of commerce, and indeed of all things, and the nerves of the ſtate, has therefore a natural tendency to impoveriſh and exhauſt the vitals of the land; that the returns made from thence are in general articles of luxury, whereof we not only have no manner of need, but which manifeſtly contribute to take the employment from our own poor to give it to the Aſiatics, viz. Perſians, Indians, and Chineſe, and thus at laſt compel them to remove elſewhere for bread, than which a greater evil cannot befal a ſtate; it is further pretended, that this trade is rather a grave than a nurſery for ſailors, ſcarce one third of the crews ever returning, the reſt generally dying of ſickneſs contracted by the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate, or the fatigues of ſo long a voyage. Beſides, this commerce differing from other branches of trade requires no great number of ſhipping, employs few ſailors, and therefore is of little conſequence to the maritime power of this nation. Even the exportation of India goods ſo much vaunted of by the partiſans of the company, is one of the moſt pernicious circumſtances that can attend any branch of trade whatever. For by this practice, the conſumption of our own manufactures in thoſe countries ſupplied with Indian ſtuffs, is entirely deſtroyed, and Great Britain loſes the advantages that ariſe from the employment of her own poor in the improvement of her manufactures, the

moſt ſolid ſource of wealth and power to a nation. But if, to prevent the immenſe quantities of India goods laid up in Holland and France from being poured in upon us, and to ſhut this door to deſtruction, by giving our ſpecie away to thoſe powers who are eternally watchful to deſtroy us, and who are the moſt likely of all others, if ever Great Britain ſhould loſe her maritime ſtrength, to cruſh and oppreſs us; if to remedy or prevent theſe dreadful and impending dangers, there is a neceſſity to continue this impoveriſhing traffic to the Indies, can it be carried on by no other methods than by giving away the birth-right of every free-born Briton, to a ſet of men, who fatten on the ſpoils of their country, and who have no other title to the ſingular protection they enjoy, than the ſuperior weight of their purſes, and their readineſs to ſerve any miniſterial turn? Cannot thoſe free merchants who carry on the other parts of this vaſt machine of commerce in this nation, by which life, vigour, and motion are conveyed to all the parts of the ſtate, cannot this illuſtrious body likewiſe ſupport the charge, or ſuperintend the management of this one branch, which a few directors conduct at their eaſe in their elbow chairs? Cannot all the traders of Great Britain fit out ſeventeen ſhips, ſupport the charge of a few factories with penſions for the few neceſſary ſervants, or furniſh ſtock ſufficient for purſuing a branch of traffic which the pooreſt ſtates in Chriſtendom find means to carry on? Where is the advantage of buying all the goods of thoſe

remote

remote parts, which the free merchants of Great Britain, the only exporters of ſuch goods, may have occaſion for, at one warehouſe, and at the ſales of one company? Theſe are the arguments of thoſe who pretend that the laying open this traffic is the only poſſible way to render it truly beneficial to this nation. Thoſe who ſupport the pretenſions of the company, anſwer, by repreſenting the advantages which all nations engaged in this commerce have drawn from it; with what eagerneſs and aſſiduity it has been cultivated by the Hebrews, Tyrians, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, whoſe footſteps have been purſued by the ſame avidity, by the Venetians, Genoeſe, Portugueze, Dutch, and by the preſent unanimous practice of all other European ſtates. Thus, ſay they, ſcarce any other argument is needful to prove the advantage of the India trade; for what greater proof can there be of its importance than the univerſal conſent of the wiſeſt ſtates and nations in all ages? But not to reaſon from authority and example only, the moſt weighty and powerful of all others, what can more contribute to the increaſing our naval power than this commerce? What a number of ſhipping and mariners are employed in it, not only in carrying to and from thoſe diſtant parts, the valuable commodities which they produce, but alſo in amaſſing and diſtributing them all over Aſia and Europe? What can contribute more to the improvement of the art of navigation than this voyage to the Indies, along ſo many ſhores, croſs ſo many ſeas, and in ſo many climates? Beſides, what a flood of wealth

does it bring in? What numbers of people does it keep conſtantly employed at home and abroad? What numbers after enriching themſelves in the Indies, return with all that additional wealth to increaſe the common ſtock of Great Britain? What branch of trade is there of all the various kinds of traffic carried on by the merchants of Great Britain, that is not either in ſome part dependent upon or connected with that of the Eaſt-Indies? Thoſe who object againſt this commerce ſeem entirely to overlook the vaſt quantities of Engliſh manufactures the company are bound to export in terms of their charter, and what vaſt quantities of unmanufactured commodities are imported from the Indies (ſuch as cotton, ſilk, &c.) which are afterwards wrought up in this kingdom, whence they are again exported to different countries. Will any man ſay, that a commerce attended with ſo many circumſtances ſo highly advantageous to the nation (the nation is thought to gain cent. per cent. upon the ſtock of the company) is not to be carried on? But it has been ſaid, that the carrying on this traffic by an excluſive company is not only in itſelf unjuſt, but alſo greatly prejudicial to any country where ſuch monopolies are ſuffered. Beſides the conduct of all other nations, ever a ſtrong proof of the uſe and neceſſity of it, there is an abſolute impoſſibility (ſay the patrons of the monopoly) to know exactly the real condition and ſtate of this traffic, nor could the neceſſary regulations and inſtructions ever be put in execution by any other poſſible method, precautions without which this

this commerce muſt inevitably fall to the ground. Experience convinces us of the inconveniencies that follow upon the ſettlements and colonies and forts of any trading company being in the poſſeſſion of the crown, who were ſo much perſuaded of the force of this argument, that the iſland of Bombay, which became their property by the marriage of Charles the ſecond with the infanta of Portugal, has (as well as St. Helena) been granted to the company on this very account, the public utility. If two companies only could not poſſibly ſubſiſt, which we have ſeen was actually the caſe, how is it reconcileable to reaſon, that a multiplicity of companies, whoſe intereſts muſt eternally claſh with each other, ſhould flouriſh, or indeed produce any thing but repeated loſſes, and at laſt occaſion the entire ruin of the trade to the nation? Wherefore there is no other poſſible expedient left, but either to abandon the India trade altogether, or elſe continue to purſue it in the method we now enjoy in common with all other nations in Europe, that of an excluſive company.

THE HISTORY OF THE COMMERCE OF THE EAST-INDIES.

BOOK IV.

The History of the other Companies formed for the Commerce of the East-Indies.

CHAP. I.

The History of the Imperial Company of the Indies, formerly eſtabliſhed at Oſtend.

SOON after the treaty of Raſtadt had tranſlated the ſovereignty of the Spaniſh Netherlands from the Spaniſh monarchy to the emperor Charles VI, the rich merchants of thoſe provinces began to conſider of the means of extending their trade

trade under the protection and auſpices of their new maſter. Nothing ſeemed ſo conducive to this end as the trade to the Eaſt-Indies, which they ſaw purſued by other nations with ſo much profit and ſucceſs. Beſides, the ſituation of their country appeared every way as happy for this traffic as either of their neighbours, Great Britain or the Dutch provinces. It was therefore reſolved to make an attempt of this ſort, for which end a private company was formed, which, tho' deſtitute of the common advantages of a charter or licence from court, was however believed not to have been done without their conſent or knowledge. Their firſt ſteps in this new commerce were ſufficiently unfortunate; for one of their ſhips with a cargo immenſely rich fell into the hands of the Dutch, as ſhe purſued her voyage along the African coaſt. This accident happened on the eighth day of December, in the year 1718.

The emperor reſolving to maintain the intereſts of this company, and in order to revive their courage which this affair had conſiderably ſunk, not only empowered them to open books for ſubſcriptions, but alſo gave them a promiſe of letters patent, with aſſurances of reſtitution for their late damages. Accordingly a perſon was diſpatched to the Hague, to demand ſatisfaction of the States General for this inſult done to a ſhip which carried the Imperial flag, and which was alſo provided with his paſſport. This complaint was ſcarce heard, when new matter of diſcord aroſe, the Dutch having made capture of another

of the Flemiſh company's ſhips, and refuſing, or at leaſt declining to make reſtitution of what they had already taken. The merchants of Oſtend, ſeeing that nothing was to be done in the way of remonſtrance, reſolved to make repriſals, for which purpoſe they applied to the Imperial court for commiſſions to enable them to act in a hoſtile manner, in caſe of future inſults. They had no difficulty in obtaining their requeſt, commiſſions were granted, and armed ſhips fitted out for the protection of their trade. Theſe preparations were not matters of oſtentation only. A Dutch ſhip was made prize of in their turn, and brought into the port of Oſtend. The States had ſmall reaſon of complaint, from an act which their own conduct had juſtified, by giving a precedent firſt. Notwithſtanding the weakneſs of their pretenſions, loud complaints were made to the governor general of the Auſtrian Netherlands of the violence of the company of Oſtend. All the anſwer they received was, that the conduct of the Flemiſh merchants was juſtifiable on ſeveral accounts, that the commiſſion of the emperor was their ſanction for their proceeding in a hoſtile manner, which was alſo allowed of by the law of nations, as well by as the example of the Dutch themſelves, who were the aggreſſors.

This reſolution and vigour in the company, with the favourable ſentiments of the court with reſpect to their intereſt, increaſed their credit in a wonderful manner. In the year 1720, five large ſhips were fitted out for the Indies. They were followed

followed by ſix more the following year, one for Mocha, another for Surat and the coaſt of Malabar, one for Bengal, and three for the empire of China. The jealouſy of the Dutch was now raiſed to the higheſt pitch, and they proceeded to act with all their vigour againſt their rivals, giving orders to ſeize all ſhips belonging to the Auſtrian Netherlands wherever they ſhould be found. The Imperial miniſters at the Hague interpoſed with all their authority, but to no purpoſe, and the cargo was expoſed to public ſale. What contributed to increaſe theſe misfortunes, was the loſs of another Oſtend ſhip of prodigious value, on her return from the Indies, by an Engliſh privateer. This caſt ſuch a damp upon the company's ſpirits, that a new ſhip juſt fitted out was order'd to be laid up.

Theſe loſſes were amply made up by the arrival of two ſhips from the Indies (in the months of May and June 1722) whoſe cargoes were ſold at an immenſe profit. They were now enabled to carry on their trade with greater advantages and appearance of ſucceſs than ever. Nothing was wanting but an eſtabliſhment ſtrengthened with the ſanction of law, the protection of the Imperial court being hitherto given them in an indirect manner, in order to avoid all grounds of diſpute with the maritime powers. Wherefore the company reſolving to improve a conjuncture when their friends at the emperor's court were able and inclined to ſerve them, diſpatched thither ſome of their directors to ſollicit this buſineſs, furniſhed with proper credentials, and what was perhaps

perhaps every whit as effectual, with large ſums of money. Theſe agents diſcharged their commiſſion with ſo much prudence and addreſs, as to obtain the ends of their application, and returned with the plan of a charter as extenſive as they could deſire, and with aſſurances of its being expedited with all poſſible expedition. Its ſubſtance, which was contained in ſeveral ſeparate articles, was firſt, that the directors ſhould be fixed to the number of eight, to be choſen from amongſt the moſt reputable, opulent, and experienced merchants in the Low Countries; that their yearly ſalary ſhould be four thouſand florins; that no directors ſhould continue in office beyond the term of ſix years, or be capable of being choſen a ſecond time, 'till after he ſhould be a full year out of office. The ſecond article ordered, that a general court of the proprietors ſhould meet annually to chooſe the company's directors, the emperor being to chooſe the eight perſons who were to compoſe this body, out of twenty-four candidates named by the general court of proprietors. The third article fixed the ſeat of the court of directors, the treaſury, and books of accounts, at Antwerp for the firſt three years, and for the ſucceeding three, at Ghent or Bruges. In the fourth place, the company's capital was determined to conſiſt of a fund of ten millions of florins, to be divided into ten thouſand actions, that is to ſay, that the value of each action ſhould amount to a thouſand florins. In the fifth article the company were entitled to all prizes taken by their ſhips, which were to be ſold and diſpoſed of for their proper account and benefit. By the ſixth the company were exempt-

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ed from paying any manner of duties or impoſitions on ammunition, artillery, proviſions, or naval ſtores, deſtined for the uſe of their forts and ſettlements, whether in paſſing through the dominions of his Imperial majeſty, or the territories of any of the ſecular or eccleſiaſtical princes of the Low Countries. In the ſeventh, the duties upon goods exported to parts beyond ſeas, or imported into any part of the Imperial dominions, were rated at four per cent. and no more, but that after the month of September, in the year 1724, they ſhould pay at the rate of ſix per cent. at which ſtandard they ſhould remain for ever. The emperor likewiſe promiſed to ſend a perſon veſted with the character of Imperial ambaſſador to the court of the Great Mogul, to thank that potentate in his name for his goodneſs in granting his ſubjects, the company, permiſſion to erect a factory, and alſo to ſecure themſelves by a fortreſs, in order to enjoy the advantages of the commerce they carried on in his dominions; and at the ſame time to ſettle an alliance, whereby all thoſe advantages might be continued to this company. The advantages which the emperor hoped for from this eſtabliſhment in the Low Countries to his influence as a maritime power, and otherwiſe by the vaſt increaſe of his revenues, which muſt infallibly attend it, determined him to encourage and advance it by all the means in his power. He cauſed them to be informed, that he would not only take off all manner of public taxes and impoſitions from the trade of his India company, but would alſo give them three hundred thouſand florins

florins out of the Imperial treaſury, in order to enable them to ſupport their commerce, notwithſtanding the loſſes which commonly attend all eſtabliſhments in their infancy.

Theſe advantages raiſed an univerſal ſpirit of trade in the inhabitants of the Imperial Low Countries. Even the nobility and gentry poſſeſſed of eſtates in thoſe parts, contended with the merchants in contributing money for the carrying on the India trade, the ſucceſs whereof ſeemed now beyond all queſtion; and it is obſervable, that this growing trade was not only ſupported and encouraged by the ſubjects of the emperor in Germany and the Netherlands, the Engliſh, French and Dutch, with other nations, contending in zeal for the ſucceſs of this foreign eſtabliſhment, whether in furniſhing part of the funds, in managing and directing their affairs, or in providing ſhipping, however noxious and detrimental ſuch proceedings were to the proſperity of their native country, in which the Eaſt-India trade had long flouriſhed with uncommon advantages to the perſons concerned.

The prejudice of this new eſtabliſhment to the other nations of Europe engaged in the Indian commerce, occaſioned an univerſal clamour and a general oppoſition: ſo much ſo, that the friends and allies of the Imperial court were only diſtinguiſhed from the other powers by their remarkable obſtinacy in this oppoſition. Notwithſtanding the common rights of ſovereigns, which entitles every monarch to promote the weal and proſperity of his people by all lawful means, however inconſiſtent

inconſiſtent theſe might be to the intereſts of other potentates engaged in the ſame juſt and laudable courſes; the maritime powers cauſed it to be intimated to the emperor, that they abſolutely inſiſted that he ſhould interdict all his ſubjects whatſoever from this trade. As this tranſaction was of the higheſt importance with reſpect to mercantile affairs, and yet recent in the memory of all Europe, it may be worth while to lay before the reader the ſubſtance of the Dutch remonſtrances, who as they held themſelves the moſt aggrieved, made the firſt and moſt importunate complaints. They ſaid, that they the States General, being honoured with the friendſhip of his Imperial majeſty, and being willing above all things that the ſame harmony and good underſtanding which had at all times ſubſiſted between them ſhould ſtill remain and continue, beheld, with extreme concern, theſe their pious wiſhes fruſtrated by the proceedings of the inhabitants of the Imperial dominions in the Low Countries, intirely and in their own nature abſolutely ſubverſive of the peace and amity heretofore ſo much cheriſhed by both nations; proceedings of the utmoſt prejudice to the intereſt of their ſtate, and expreſly contrary to the treaties then ſubſiſting between them, and for the true and faithful obſervation whereof his Imperial majeſty had engaged the public faith, and bound himſelf by the religion of an oath. The States have the greater cauſe of complaint for this reaſon, that all their former remonſtrances, ſo often and calmly reiterated, had not only been fruitleſs and unable to procure the redreſs of their grievances,

grievances, but that on the contrary, the evils they complained of increaſed daily, the company having ſince greatly extended their enterprizes, in which unlawful and unwarrantable practices they, the ſubjects of his Imperial majeſty, have been encouraged and protected by licences from the Imperial court, to carry on the trade to the Indies from the port of Oſtend, as their High Mightineſſes have been informed. Wherefore they (the States General) being deſirous to avoid the dangerous conſequences of his Imperial majeſty's continuing, in a manner ſo evidently contrary to right and equity, to the juſt expectations of their High Mightineſſes, and to the faith and religion of treaties, his protection to his ſubjects of the Imperial dominions in the Low Countries; and being equally deſirous to prevent the evils which might enſue, if their High Mightineſſes were compelled to have recourſe to more violent means of recovering thoſe rights they were entitled to by the treaties preſently in force, did therefore lay before his Imperial majeſty, that by the treaty concluded at Munſter, in the year 1648, between the king of Spain then reigning, and his ſucceſſors, on the one part, and their High Mightineſſes on the other part, at which time the trade and navigation to the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies were reſtricted to the bounds and limits they were then actually in poſſeſſion of, the ſubjects of the Spaniſh crown ſhould have no power to enlarge the bounds of their navigation, and eſpecially to trade to places to which the ſubjects of this ſtate did then carry on trade or navigate. That this right thus acquired

quired has always in time paſt been ſtrictly underſtood and kept in force, the inhabitants of the Auſtrian provinces having never been permitted to carry on any manner of traffic to the Eaſt-Indies. Nor can it be imagined that the inhabitants of thoſe provinces have acquired any new right or privilege, ſince they have fallen under the dominion of his Imperial majeſty; or that the lords, the States General of the United Provinces, after ſo many and ſignal efforts to recover thoſe provinces, with other parts of the dominions of the Spaniſh monarchy, to his preſent Imperial majeſty, ſhould ſo much forget the dignity of their characters as to abandon the right acquired by the treaty of Munſter already mentioned; and much leſs could they apprehend, that after an acquiſition to which the republic of the United Provinces had ſo much contributed, his Imperial majeſty ſhould at the ſame time entertain the remoteſt views of turning it to the diſadvantage and prejudice of their ſtate, contrary to that very point which formed the baſis and foundation of all the negociations at Munſter, and of the treaty that was the conſequence of them. And by the Barrier treaty it is further expreſly ſtipulated, that commerce with every thing relative to it, ſhould abſolutely remain upon the ſame foundation, and in the ſame manner as had been already ſtipulated and ſettled by the treaty of Munſter. Thus it appears, that at this very time when his Imperial majeſty was already in the actual poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Netherlands, the treaty of Munſter was renewed and confirmed by that of the Barrier, as

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it alſo was by the guarantee of his majeſty the king of Great Britain. Therefore from the above reaſons, and from the common rights of ſtates and of ſovereigns, as well as from the juſtice and truth for which his Imperial majeſty is ſo juſtly celebrated, and laſtly from the religion and ſanctity of treaties, whereof he has always been deemed a moſt ſcrupulous obſerver, their High Mightineſſes hope for redreſs of thoſe evils they ſo juſtly complain of, and that his Imperial majeſty will not only ceaſe to ſuccour and protect his ſubjects, or any others, in the unlawful and unwarrantable traffic to the Eaſt-Indies, but alſo require from his friendſhip, upon which they have always ſet ſo high a value, that he will withdraw the letters patent, ſaid to have been granted them for carrying on that commerce from any part of the Auſtrian or Imperial provinces of the Low Countries, and ſo render them void and ineffectual; that all ſuch navigation or commerce, whether with patents, or without, may for ever entirely ceaſe; and that the treaties concluded for that effect do remain in full force and execution. This memorial, which the States General had been ſtrongly ſollicited to cauſe to be preſented in time, was delivered to the Imperial miniſters by M. Bruyninx, by order of the States General, in the month of March, of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-three.

It was ſoon tranſmitted to England, where it was, by order of the Eaſt-India company of this nation, tranſlated and printed, and afterwards, by their direction, copies were delivered to the members of the houſe of commons, with intent to excite

been at that time laid before that houſe on the ſame ſubject. This affair was referred to a committee, which, after proper enquiries into the nature and evil tendency of the promoting a new company in the Auſtrian Netherlands for the carrying on a trade to the Eaſt-Indies, to this nation, in which wicked deſign ſeveral ſubjects of Great Britain have been actually concerned, came to the reſolution that the houſe ſhould be moved for leave to bring in a bill, in order to prevent the ſubjects of this realm from being concerned in promoting or encouraging in any manner whatſoever an Eaſt-India company in the Auſtrian Netherlands, and for the ſecuring the lawful trade of the ſubjects of Great Britain to and from thoſe remote Eaſtern countries. This motion was unanimouſly agreed to, and leave was accordingly given to bring in the bill, which afterwards paſſed into a law, entitled, "An act for preventing his majeſty's ſubjects from ſubſcribing, or being concerned in, or encouraging or promoting any ſubſcription for an Eaſt-India company in the Auſtrian Netherlands, and for the better ſecuring, &c."

Nothwithſtanding the united efforts of the maritime powers, who held themſelves bound by the ſame obligation, and under the ſame neceſſity of compelling the emperor to abandon this new ſociety, and to ſacrifice the intereſts of his ſubjects in the Netherlands to the friendſhip of his old friends and allies, he reſolved, in ſpite of all obſtacles, to maintain his Eaſt-India company, to whom he now (in 1723) actually

granted letters patent, tho' ſomewhat different from the ancient plan. The privileges given the Auſtrian company at this time were extended beyond all bounds; for by it they were entitled for thirty years together to trade to all parts in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, and all the coaſts of Africa, whether on this ſide the Cape of Good-Hope, or beyond that promontory, which powers he ſeemed to derive from his right as head of the houſe of Auſtria, as well as from that of monarch of Spain; the titles of both which dignities filled the preamble to this grant, in which, amongſt others, he aſſumed the title of King of the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies.

The company's capital was however limited to ſix millions of florins, and the number of actions were not to exceed ſix thouſand. Notwithſtanding this reſtraint they might juſtly be looked upon as gainers on the whole, their new charter permitting them to fortify themſelves in all places of the Indies whatſoever, as alſo to tranſport to their ſettlements in thoſe parts, arms, artillery, and warlike ſtores, in what quantity they thought proper; to build and equip ſhips of force, and that either in the ports of Italy, the Low Countries, or in any of the dominions of the Imperial crown, and to enter into alliance, or conclude treaties with the ſtates and ſovereign princes of the Indies, in the name of his Imperial majeſty, being reſtricted ſolely in this, that they ſhould not make war upon any ſtate or potentate whatſoever, without the conſent of the emperor, or his ſucceſſors. The company, in token of gratitude

gratitude for ſo many favours, and ſuch ample powers, were to pay in the way of homage a golden lion of the weight of twenty marks, holding between his paws the arms of that body. Nothing could be more encouraging than the zeal the court of Vienna diſcovered for the proſperity and ſafety of this commerce. The emperor undertook to guarantee the company againſt all dangers from what powers ſoever, and even, if neceſſity ſo required, to employ the whole force of his dominions for that effect, and to procure them ample ſatisfaction for all the damages they ſhould ſuſtain from the jealouſy or unjuſt attacks of any nation, potentate, or ſtate whatſoever; and that further, in all treaties, alliances, or leagues, into which the Imperial crown ſhould enter, with what power ſoever, in all time to come, conſtant attention ſhould be had to provide by all manner of means for the intereſt, ſucceſs, and proſperity of the India company. In this manner this famous eſtabliſhment took its riſe, from which both the court of Vienna, as well as thoſe who had engaged in it as proprietors, promiſed themſelves the higheſt advantages.

Soon after the letters patent were publiſhed and regiſtered in the ſovereign courts of the Low Countries belonging to the Imperial court; the directors entered upon office, and took their ſeats; the company's books were opened at Antwerp (on the 11th of Auguſt) the ſucceſs being ſuch as amazed all Europe, for next day before noon the capital was all ſubſcribed for; and by the end of

Auguſt their actions were at fifteen per cent. above par. The ſame proſperity attended their affairs in the Indies; factories were ſettled with wonderful facility in the moſt advantageous places; their buſineſs was conducted by men of the greateſt prudence and experience, being chiefly ſuch as had formerly given proofs of their abilities and behaviour in the ſervice of the Engliſh and Dutch Eaſt-India companies; trade was carried on in thoſe parts with infinite emolument, and every thing was ſettled with ſo much ſagacity, and on ſo ſolid a foundation, as to put their affairs into a condition of withſtanding all the attempts of thoſe who ſuffered from their good fortune.

The other powers of Europe, who were apprehenſive of this company, entertaining no longer any hopes of being able to ſuppreſs them by any attempts againſt them in the Indies, without proceeding to open hoſtilities, had recourſe to other methods. The Dutch company were the firſt to remonſtrate on this occaſion, as they were in a particular manner intereſted in the oppoſing of a company, whoſe intereſts were ſo oppoſite to their own, and who muſt bring their merchandize to the ſame markets as they did. Therefore, without loſs of time, they cauſed two ſeveral memorials to be preſented to the States General, in which they did not heſitate to ſay, that the eſtabliſhment of the Eaſt-India company of Oſtend was directly contradictory to the expreſs tenor of treaties actually ſubſiſting, and that ſo direct a violation of all public faith gave them

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a juſt title to demand of the States General, that they ſhould be permitted to do themſelves that juſtice by arms, which all other methods had been unable to procure them. The government of the United Provinces were unwilling to break entirely with the court of Vienna, and were therefore deſirous that all other means of accommodating their differences ſhould be attempted before they made uſe of the laſt reſource; for theſe reaſons they continued in conjunction with the court of Great Britain to ſollicit the court of Vienna to revoke the powers lately granted to the merchants of the Imperial Low Countries, or, at leaſt, to give orders that they ſhould be ſuſpended for a time limited. In the mean time nothing was neglected in Holland to diſcourage it, and laws were enacted, diſcharging and prohibiting, under ſevere penalties, the inhabitants of the Dutch provinces from having any concern in promoting the Eaſt-India company of Oſtend, or from entering into their ſervice. The Dutch company on their ſide were not remiſs in their endeavours to annoy their rivals in that quarter of the world where their power is ſeated. Tho' they refrained from actual hoſtilities, yet by means of that unbounded power and influence they poſſeſs in thoſe parts, they found means to create abundance of trouble to the Flemiſh company, and in a particular manner by cramping their commerce, and rendering it uncertain and precarious. The Engliſh ſeconded them with all their power, and the Flemiſh company had fallen a victim to the jealouſy of her neigh-

bours, had not the foreigners employed in her ſervice, whoſe ruin was involved in that of their maſters, redoubled their induſtry, and uſed all their endeavours to preſerve an eſtabliſhment which was become their laſt and only reſource.

Theſe were not the only enemies the company of Oſtend had to oppoſe. The court of France, whoſe jealouſy was equally alarmed with the Engliſh and Dutch by an eſtabliſhment ſo apparently prejudicial to their own Eaſt-India trade, publiſhed a declaration (Auguſt 16, 1723) forbidding all the ſubjects of that crown from being in any way whatſoever concerned in ſubſcribing for the capital of the Oſtend company; the contraveeners or offenders to pay a fine of three thouſand livres for each offence, with confiſcation of the monies ſubſcribed for on account of that capital; and, in caſe of a ſecond miſdemeanour, to forfeit the ſame ſum, with the ſame confiſcation of the monies ſubſcribed for, and the offender to ſuffer three years baniſhment: and that if it ſhould ſo happen that the effects or ſtock of the ſubjects ſo offending ſhould not be to be come at, ſo as to become liable to ſuch confiſcation, then, and in that caſe, their goods and hereditaments in France ſhould become reſponſible for the like forfeitures and confiſcations, until the ſums ſo ſubſcribed for were raiſed and levied, and all this in a ſhort and ſummary manner, viz. by the arret or ordonnance of 1670. By the ſame declaration, all mariners, manufacturers, tradeſmen, and in general all the ſubjects of France, were ſtrictly prohibited from entering into the ſervice

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of the ſaid Eaſt-India company of Oſtend in any manner or quality whatſoever, on pain of impriſonment and forfeiture of all their effects; and laſtly, all perſons of whatſoever rank, quality, or condition, were forbid to invite or enliſt, or otherwiſe to ſeduce into the ſervice of the ſaid company any of the ſubjects of the moſt chriſtian king in quality of officers, ſoldiers, ſeamen, or in any other quality or manner; as alſo to ſell, buy, lend, or equip, any ſhip or veſſel, for the uſe or ſervice of the ſaid company, on pain of being ſet on the pillory, for the firſt offence, and for the ſecond of being condemned to the gallies, beſides confiſcation of all ſhips or veſſels thus bought or ſold, and a fine of three thouſand livres each, for both buyer and ſeller.

One would imagine the company of Oſtend had already too many enemies to withſtand, and that fewer or weaker opponents were ſufficient to procure her ruin. But theſe were not all. The crown of Spain believed themſelves alſo injured by this eſtabliſhment, and they preſented by the miniſters of the Spaniſh nation a memorial to the king of Great Britain (April 26, 1724) wherein they repreſented the injuſtice and unlawfulneſs of this new company, which was ſo diametrically oppoſite to the letter and tenor of the treaty of Munſter, by which the Spaniards engaged not to diſturb the navigation of the Dutch to their colonies or ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies, theſe on the other hand engaging not to moleſt the navigation of the Spaniards. By virtue of theſe engagements, the ſubjects of the crown of Spain in

the Low Countries were reſtrained from trading to the Eaſt-Indies, and thoſe provinces had been yielded to the elector of Bavaria under the ſame reſtrictions. They had alſo been transferred into the power of the houſe of Auſtria, with this expreſs condition, that the Spaniſh Low Countries ſhould remain under the ſame reſtraint and limitations under their dominion, as formerly under that of Spain. France and the republic of Holland had alſo both of them engaged for the obſervation of the ſame reſtrictive clauſe. The eſtabliſhment of this company, even if legal, was equally detrimental to Spain and to the United Provinces, in contradiction to the tenor of ſo many treaties and alliances, whoſe only end and deſign was to eſtabliſh and ſecure the general tranquillity of Europe. Finally they repreſented, that this company was in its own nature contrary to the known intereſts of all the parties concerned in thoſe treaties, the emperor only excepted, and ſubverſive of the intereſts of themſelves in particular (the Spaniards) the principal contractors. Theſe were the ſentiments of the Spaniſh monarchy at that time. Soon after the Spaniards began to ſee things with other eyes. In order to explain this revolution, which occaſioned a general change in the councils of Europe, it is neceſſary to recollect the tranſactions which then fell out in Europe. There happened at this time a moſt extraordinary reconciliation between thoſe two princes, whom all their friends and allies on both ſides could never with all their influence prevail with to endure one another.

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This ſudden agreement proved to the detriment of all who had either obliged them by their endeavours for their particular intereſts, or who had intereſted themſelves as mediators in their reconciliation. France in particular had ſtrove for the ſpace of twenty-five years together to put Philip the Vth in poſſeſſion of the crown of Spain and of the Indies, in contradiction to the pretenſions of the houſe of Auſtria, in whoſe cauſe almoſt all the other powers of Europe were engaged. In the very time that a congreſs was ſitting in Flanders, in order to effectuate the reconciliation of Charles the VIth, the emperor and head of the Auſtrian family, with Philip, they of themſelves entered into an alliance (at Vienna in May 1725) and at the ſame time concluded a treaty of commerce, in which Philip ſacrificed the intereſts of that nation to whom he owed his diadem, as did the emperor thoſe of all his allies, to whom he lay under infinite obligations. One of the chief intentions of this treaty was the eſtabliſhment of the Oſtend company, notwithſtanding it was ſo directly contrary to the intereſt of Philip, even by his own repreſentation laid before the king of Great Britain but the year before. By this treaty the company of Oſtend appeared to be beyond the power of their enemies, and a general war was the only apparent reſource the maritime powers had now left them, an expedient they had the utmoſt averſion to, ſince it muſt occaſion the total ruin of the Auſtrian family, the only bulwark againſt the growing power of France, and which they themſelves had erected at the expence

of

of an ocean of bloodſhed, and an infinity of treaſure. On the other hand, they beheld with extreme affliction, the emperor employing that power which he owed to their benevolence only, againſt his benefactors.

The Dutch company in particular were ſo much alarmed at the advantages which their Flemiſh rivals muſt reap from the late treaty, that they cauſed another memorial conceived in the ſtrongeſt terms to be preſented to the States General, in which they ſet forth, that having obſerved a gradual decline in their commerce, from the time that a new company had been erected in the Spaniſh Low Countries, which provinces have ſince fallen to the houſe of Auſtria, for carrying on a trade to the Eaſt-Indies, in conſequence whereof the directors have at different times cauſed ſeveral memorials to be preſented to their High Mightineſſes, ſhewing that by the treaties now actually in force, the inhabitants of the ſaid Auſtrian Netherlands have no manner of right or title to this navigation and commerce; that as this title is what they never could make claim of under the dominion of the crown of Spain, it follows of conſequence that they can form no ſort of pretenſions to that traffic, by virtue of the ſaid treaties, or thoſe concluded with his Imperial majeſty, or his predeceſſor Leopold of glorious memory; thoſe eſpecially, becauſe the chief intention and view of the ſaid treaties and negociations was, that in the countries and dominions which his Imperial majeſty might acquire by virtue of his alliance with the crown of Great Britain, and with this State, nothing

ſhould

ſhould ever be attempted, which might affect the intereſts of either of theſe two nations, other than in caſe ſaid countries had remained ſubject to the crown of Spain. It had therefore been ſtipulated with great wiſdom by the Barrier treaty, that the poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Netherlands ſhould remain to his Imperial and Catholic majeſty, in ſuch manner as his predeceſſors kings of Spain had formerly poſſeſſed them, and that what regarded commerce ſhould ſubſiſt upon the foundation eſtabliſhed by the treaty of Munſter. That the directors had flattered themſelves that the juſtice of his Imperial majeſty in forbearing to carry on that commerce contrary to treaty, and to their prejudice, would have prevented all cauſe of complaint; they have notwithſtanding been compelled by freſh injuries to trouble their High Mightineſſes by new memorials.

They have with great affliction ſeen the illegal and unwarrantable private navigation ſet on foot at Oſtend ſome years ſince, now erected into a formal company and body incorporate, and authorized by an ample patent to carry on a trade to and from the Eaſt-Indies; they have alſo obſerved that no means requiſite to the improvement and preſervation of this company by engagements with other powers, have been omitted, to the certain prejudice of thoſe privileges which the Eaſt-India company of the United Provinces have juſtly obtained, as evidently appears to the ſaid memorialiſts from the treaty of commerce lately concluded between his Imperial majeſty and the king of Spain, the

firſt and third articles whereof expreſly bear, "That the ſhips of war and merchantmen belonging to their ſaid majeſties, or to their ſubjects, ſhall be freely admitted to all the ports, coaſts, countries, and provinces on either ſide, without previouſly demanding any permiſſion, which liberty does alſo in ſpecial manner extend to their reſpective ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies, where they are entitled to demand every thing neceſſary for navigation, with this only reſtriction in regard to the Eaſt-Indies, that neither ſide ſhall be permitted to carry on any manner of traffic in the dominions of the other, and that, in thoſe parts eſpecially, the men of war ſhall ſo behave themſelves, as not to give to the Spaniards any cauſe of fear or ſuſpicion whatſoever." Moreover it is expreſly ſaid, in the thirty-ſixth article of the ſaid treaty, "That the ſubjects and ſhips of his Imperial and Catholic majeſty, ſhall be allowed to import into, and vend in all the dominions of the crown of Spain, all ſorts of fruits, and all manner of effects and merchandizes bronght by them from the Eaſt-Indies, provided it ſhall appear from the affidavits of the deputies of the Eaſt-India company of the Auſtrian Netherlands, that the ſame did actually come from the conquered places, colonies, or factories of the ſaid company; in which caſe they are to enjoy the ſame privileges granted to the ſubjects of the United Provinces by the treaty of Munſter in 1648, both with reſpect to the Indies, and any other matter applicable to the ſaid treaty, and which ſhall not be contrary to it, any more than to the preſent engagement." Which

privileges

privileges are further extended by the ſeventh or laſt article of the ſaid treaty, "To all that the government of Great Britain has ſtipulated in their favour by virtue of the treaties of 1667, 1670, 1713, and laſt of all by a certain treaty and convention, the date whereof is not mentioned, for as much as it may be applicable to the ſubjects of his Imperial majeſty: and morever to whatſoever has been granted to the ſubjects of the States General of the United Provinces, not only by the treaties of 1648, but alſo by the treaty of Marine in 1650, and the treaty of peace of 1714." With this addition, "That all theſe treaties ſhall ſerve as a rule in doubtful caſes, or in ſuch caſes as are omitted, or not plainly expreſſed in the preſent treaties between their ſaid majeſties.

From theſe doubtful caſes which are paſſed by in ſilence, it may be pretended and concluded in the firſt place, that his Catholic majeſty has intended to grant to the ſubjects of his Imperial majeſty, free acceſs to all the countries, ſea-ports, and places of his dominions, ſince neither in that article, nor in any other part of the treaty, any excluſion or reſtrictve clauſes are to be found, ſuch as are inſerted in all other treaties of that nature whatſoever. Such as,

That this is only to be underſtood of thoſe countries and places which the king poſſeſſes in Europe, or where other nations have always enjoyed a free and unreſtrained commerce, as appears from the fourth article of the treaty of truce, concluded between this State and the crown of Spain, in which are theſe words,

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" Which the ſaid lord the king underſtands to be reſtrained and limited to the kingdoms, countries, dominions, and lordſhips, which he holds and poſſeſſes in Europe, and other places and ports where the ſubjects of the kings and princes his allies do trade." Moreover in the fifth article of the treaty of Munſter it is ſaid, " That the directors and commiſſioners of the Eaſt and Weſt-India companies, ſhall have free acceſs and commerce in all the countries within the king's dominions in Europe, but all the ſubjects of the States are not to frequent the places in the Eaſt-Indies belonging to the kingdom of Caſtile." And laſtly, by the thirty-fourth article of the treaty concluded at Utrecht in 1714, between his preſent Catholic majeſty and this State, wherein it is expreſly ſaid, " Tho' it be mentioned in ſeveral of the foregoing articles, that the ſubjects on either ſide may freely come to frequent, ſtay, ſail to, and trade in the countries, lands, cities, ports, places and rivers, belonging to the aboveſaid contracting parties; yet it is to be underſtood, that the ſaid ſubjects are only allowed that liberty in their reciprocal dominions in Europe, ſince it is expreſly agreed, that as to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, it ſhall not be allowed to ſail to, or trade there, but purſuant to the thirty-firſt article of the ſaid treaty." On the other hand, the ſame unlimited terms are again to be met with in the thirty-ſixth article of the abovementioned treaty between their ſaid majeſties, wherein it is ſtipulated, " That the ſubjects of his Imperial majeſty ſhall be allowed to import into all the countries and dominions belonging

longing to the king of Spain, without diſtinction, all manner of effects, fruits, and merchandizes, from their colonies and conquered places in the Eaſt-Indies, provided they have the neceſſary affidavits as required by the ſaid article; in which caſe they ſhall enjoy all the privileges granted to the ſubjects of this State by the king of Spain's letters patent in 1663.

Notwithſtanding that the directors of the Eaſt-India company are abſolutely ignorant of any other privilege, but that by which they are permitted to import the produce and merchandizes of the Indies, into the dominions of the king of Spain lying in Europe, or into ſuch places to which all other nations are permitted to carry on a free trade, and even that by certain letters patent, ſigned by the ſaid king of Spain in the year 1663, it was enjoined, that at the entering of ſuch produce and merchandizes into ſuch of his majeſty's dominions, where the importation thereof has always been allowed, affidavits ſhould be produced to make it appear that they are brought from the countries, colonies, and conquered places belonging to our Eaſt-India company, to the end they might be diſtinguiſhed from the merchandizes brought from the Portugueze Indies, Spain being then at war with that nation; yet their High Mightineſſes miniſter, then reſiding at Madrid, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, in the name of this State, and having repreſented to his Catholic Majeſty the impoſſibility of complying with this demand, it was dropped in all appearance, ſince they never heard that ſuch affidavits have ſince been required

quired in Spain, for ſuch produces and merchandizes as were brought from the Eaſt-Indies.

But as theſe things have in all appearance been explained according to ancient practice, or otherwiſe that they might at leaſt be capable of being ſo explained from former treaties, the directors do only mention them to ſhew, that they are abſolutely at a loſs to conceive the implicit ſenſe and intention of theſe articles, at leaſt that it is not equally clear as what is determined by the abovementioned article, wherein the ſaid acceſs and reſort to all his Catholic majeſty's ports and places is poſitively and expreſly extended to the Eaſt-Indies: a particular which the directors cannot conceive to have been granted in ſuch manner to any nation whatſoever, and a privilege expreſly forbid to the ſubjects of this State, as is evident from the fifth article of the treaty of Munſter ſo often cited, wherein it is declared, " That the ſubjects of this State ſhall forbear to frequent the Caſtilian places in the Eaſt-Indies." That this has been invariably obſerved by the Spaniards ever ſince, is evident from a particular caſe which the directors had the honour to lay before their High Mightineſſes, in their memorial of the year 1720, ſetting forth, " That in the year 1687, a ſhip belonging to the Eaſt-India company of the United Provinces, having on board two friars who had been ſhipwreck'd on the coaſt of China, and having at their earneſt requeſt carried them to the Philippine iſlands, the captain of that ſhip only demanded, on this occaſion, a ſmall proviſion of water, which had run ſhort, by reaſon of his having come ſo far

out of the way; but ſo far from granting him this or any other favour, he was inſtantly ordered to retire."

Hence it is manifeſt how far it was from being the intention of the king of Spain, that his ſea-ports and places in the Eaſt-Indies, which extended no farther than the Philippine iſlands, otherwiſe called Manillas, ſhould ſerve for ſtaples or places of refreſhment to the Eaſt-India ſhips of this State, as very well knowing what the conſequence might be. But the directors think they have a more particular reaſon to complain of the ſaid thirty-ſix articles, ſeeing that thereby the king of Spain grants to the ſubjects of his Imperial and Catholic majeſty, not only whatever has been granted to the inhabitants of this State, but moreover whatſoever has been yielded to them by the treaty of Munſter, both in what regards the Indies and otherwiſe, which they apprehend to be a direct violation of the fifth article of the ſaid treaty of Munſter, by which it is ſtipulated, "that the Spaniards ſhall continue to navigate within the ſame limits as at the time of that treaty, without extending them any farther in the Eaſt-Indies." As on the other hand, it was ſtipulated by the treaty of Utrecht in 1714, between his Spaniſh majeſty and this State, "that the navigation and trade in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, belonging to the lords the States General, ſhall be carried on in the ſame manner as had hitherto been practiſed." Which evidently proves, that no change, with reſpect to this navigation, ought to have been made on either ſide, whether

by their own ſubjects, or thoſe of any other power, not comprehended in the fifth article of the treaty of Munſter, ſeeing the tenth article of the treaty of Munſter ſays moreover, " that the privileges and prerogatives relating to the navigation and commerce of the Eaſt-Indies, expreſſed in the fifth article of the treaty of Munſter, ſhall only concern the two chief contracting powers, that is to ſay, the crown of Spain and this State, and no others whatſoever."

So that the true meaning and intention of theſe words are manifeſt from the report of the plenipotentiares at the congreſs of Utrecht, inſerted in the verbal, and the notules, or in the reſolutions of their High Mightineſſes of the fourth of January of the year 1714, in the ſame terms: " Firſt, upon the fifth and ſixth articles of the treaty of Munſter, which the ſaid plenipotentiaries looked upon as meriting ſome remarks, as being applicable to others, adding, that the States and their inhabitants ought indeed to enjoy all the advantages ſtipulated by this treaty, but that the other nations, and in particular the Hans towns, ſhall not partake of the ſame." A convincing proof that the excluſion or non-admittance of other nations, from enjoying what has been agreed upon by the fifth article about the navigation and trade of the Eaſt-Indies, was the only true aim of that treaty, which having been thus inſerted at the requeſt and inſtances of the Spaniſh plenipotentiaries, and agreed to by both parties, it is not allowed to either of theſe two powers to transfer this right by treaty, or to make

make another nation partake thereof without the conſent and concurrence of the other powers comprehended in the ſaid convention. Beſides, that after the king of Spain had once yielded in favour of the inhabitants of this State, that part of the Indies which the privileged Eaſt-India company poſſeſſes, with promiſe that the Spaniards ſhould not extend themſelves on that ſide, he has no right to make over a ſecond time to other nations, what his majeſty had formerly deſiſted from by ſo ſolemn a treaty, and which he has always left to the privileged Eaſt-India company of this State, or to ſuch who having been formerly his majeſty's ſubjects, are alſo comprehended in the article of excluſion. Neither is he entitled to tolerate publickly, that the diſtricts yielded, and which have been peaceably enjoyed without any let from the Spaniſh ſubjects, but frequented by men of war and merchant ſhips, that forts, colonies, and factories for trade be ſet up there, and generally to do every thing that could be done, had there been no treaty, to the great prejudice and impairing, if not entire extinction of the prerogatives of this State, formerly ſtipulated and obtained.

And foraſmuch as the directors of the Eaſt-India company in this country, are more and more confirmed in what they did long ago foreſee; that in caſe the company of the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, erected in the Auſtrian Low Countries, do thus carry on their navigation and trade within the limits of the grant of trade to the Eaſt-India company of this country, and ſo di-

ſturb their commerce every where in the Indies, the conſequences of this affair will daily grow more important; and ſeeing beſides, that this navigation and commerce, with the grant relating thereto, is now of late confirmed on the part of the king of Spain by an important treaty, and highly prejudicial to the commerce of the Eaſt-India company of this country; and that in ſome reſpects the Auſtrian company is favoured more than the inhabitants of this State, they could not forbear repreſenting at this juncture their grievances, moſt humbly beſeeching their High Mightineſſes to take them into their ſerious conſideration, and that they would be pleaſed, according to the importance of this affair, to uſe the moſt effectual means, as well at the court of Vienna, as at that of Madrid, and elſewhere where it might be of ſervice, to have the ſaid grievances redreſſed, and that navigation entirely put down, hoping withal that it will not be taken amiſs, that, ſeeing they cannot acquieſce to the new grant and treaty, they ſtick cloſe to the ancient treaty, and apply the ſame as a rule, not only in caſes that are doubtful, or omitted, but alſo in all other caſes whatſoever.

In this manner did the memorialiſts ſet forth in terms the moſt expreſſive poſſible, theſe particulars of the treaty of commerce concluded at Vienna, which the maritime powers complained of as prejudicial to their intereſts, as alſo the grounds they had to look for redreſs. The States General were ſo fully ſenſible of the evil tendency of this treaty to their own Eaſt-India company

company, as well as to thoſe of other nations for whoſe intereſt their zeal could be nothing more than pretext, that they determined to uſe all their influence at the courts of Vienna and Madrid, in order to have it diſſolved. The courts of London and Paris, equally intereſted in behalf of their own companies, ſeconded their application with infinite importunity: and that the emperor and king of Spain might ſee they were not to be amuſed with tedious negociations, and much leſs damped by big words, they reſolved to try ſome more cogent expedient. The preſent diſpoſitions of the king of Pruſſia furniſhed them the opportunity they deſired. This prince ſaw with uneaſineſs the exorbitant and, as he apprehended, anticonſtitutional power of the emperor in Germany, whereof he dreaded the conſequences to the independency of the other princes of Germany as well as himſelf. He therefore wiſhed above all things to bridle the power of that houſe, which was now effected by a treaty concluded at Hanover in September 1725 with the courts of France and England, and to which the States General were invited to accede. By virtue of this treaty, the contracting powers, without any mention or ſeeming to take notice of the company of Oſtend, engage, not only to guaranty the dominions, countries, and cities of each other, as well in Europe as in other parts, but alſo all manner their rights, privileges, and advantages, particularly thoſe relating to trade, with which laſt the privileges of that company were generally thought to be altogether inconſiſtent.

This alliance was no ſooner conſummated, than it was imparted to the States General at the Hague, and they were at the ſame time ſollicited to come into it, as the only effectual means to bring about what they were above all others intereſted to procure, that is to ſay, the abolition of the company of Oſtend. The reaſons were abundantly evident, as it was impoſſible to conceive that the Dutch alone ſhould be able to bring the emperor and the king of Spain to break an eſtabliſhment, from which the firſt eſpecially expected ſo many advantages, in their favours. And that chiefly as that company was ſettled on a foundation ſo ſolid as muſt have enabled it in a few years to ſupport itſelf againſt any power whatſoever. And indeed never did any company run into ſuch an extenſive traffic, as this of the Auſtrian Low Countries, for the time in which it ſubſiſted.

The Dutch, however they might reliſh an alliance, which flattered them with ſo high an advantage, did not immediately accede to it, preferring the former method of negociation, which was the more likely to take place on account of the late proceedings at Hanover. Poſſibly they chooſed rather to owe their ſucceſs to their own application, than to the intereſt and influence of foreign powers. However it was, Mr. Vander Meer their ambaſſador at the court of Madrid was ordered to lay before them, the injuſtice done to the Eaſt-India company of the Seven United Provinces, by the late treaty with the emperor. His arguments, which containcd the grounds of jealouſy

jealouſy and diſſatisfaction given to Great Britain, as well as their own grievances, and which were probably adduced to give weight to his remonſtrances, were as follows.

Since the union and mutual good underſtanding of nations and potentates do abſolutely and entirely depend upon treaties, it therefore follows, that each party ſhould not only preſerve thoſe ſolemn engagements inviolate, and forbear from the open infraction of them, but alſo particularly to take care that their miniſters be cautioned againſt having recourſe to prevarications or ſubterfuges in order to wreſt their tenour and articles from their natural and original ſenſe, ſuch as was intended at the time when thoſe mutual engagements and conventions have been made. In theſe ſentiments, and with this deſire to maintain the public faith, their High Mightineſſes have always in the moſt religious manner obſerved and executed their engagements, without violating in the leaſt point or article what they had thus ſolemnly ſtipulated; making it moreover a conſtant and invariable maxim, not only to redreſs any abuſe but alſo upon complaint or demand made, to cauſe ſatisfaction to be made, and exemplary and condign puniſhment to be done upon ſuch of their ſubjects as have in any wiſe preſumed to deviate from the literal obſervation of their orders. And ſo far have their High Mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces been from entering into any engagements whatſoever to the prejudice of their allies, as your majeſty well knows from the indiſputable marks of their perfect attach-

ment to all your intereſts, that on the contrary, they have always and in general refuſed to enter into ſuch treaties, whatever ſollicitations might have been uſed towards them, or however great the advantages they might hope to derive from them might poſſibly be, whereof their late denial to accede to the quadruple alliance is an inconteſtable proof.

After ſo many real and ſingular regards, my maſters did flatter themſelves with the hopes of finding in the perſon of your majeſty, not only the friendſhip and fidelity of an ally, but alſo a certain protection againſt all who ſhould attempt any thing contrary to their intereſts. Nevertheleſs, they have the mortification to find that your majeſty, ſo far from ſupporting and eſpouſing the intereſts and juſt and undoubted rights of their High Mightineſſes, in relation to their trade and commerce to the Indies, has on the contrary become the protector and guarantee of a company, whoſe commerce cannot ſubſiſt without the entire ruin and ſubverſion of that of the ſubjects and people of their High Mightineſſes. Though notwithſtanding the inſinuations and evaſions of your majeſty's miniſters, in pretending that nothing has been granted to his Imperial majeſty but what is in conformity to all the ancient treaties, yet it is certain and perfectly eaſy to be demonſtrated, that this reaſoning is the conſequence of a violent and ſtrained conſtruction, and in contradiction to the genuine and ſimple ſenſe of their articles. For if they are taken in the literal ſenſe, or according to their

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true intention at the time of their being penned, there is no perſon ſo blind as not to diſcern the immenſe diſtance there is between this treaty of commerce, and the aim and intention of thoſe, who after ſo many cruel wars, and ſo much blood ſhed for the preſervation of the juſt rights of the Republic, with reſpect to their navigation and commerce in general, and in eſpecial manner with reſpect to that of the Indies, did at length ſettle all by the treaties of Munſter and of Utrecht.

I come, Sire, to theſe demonſtrations. By the ſecond and third articles of the treaty of Vienna, all men of war, or merchant ſhips, belonging to his Imperial majeſty, or to his ſubjects, are permitted to enter all places, and ports of the dominions of Spain, thoſe of Eaſt-India included, there to take in refreſhments, proviſions, and generally whatever they may want for continuing their voyage, with this ſole reſtriction, that they ſhall not trade nor traffic there. In the thirty-ſixth article of the ſame treaty, it is ſaid, that the ſubjects of his Imperial majeſty may import and vend in the territories and dominions of Spain, all goods, merchandizes, and products, which they ſhall bring from the Eaſt-Indies, provided they ſhall produce a certificate from the Eaſt-India company of the Auſtrian Netherlands, that thoſe merchandizes and products are of the growth of their colonies and conqueſts; further granting to the ſaid ſubjects of his Imperial majeſty, all that was yielded to the Dutch by the treaty of Munſter in 1648, and afterwards by

by particular grants in 1663, and by the treaty of Utrecht in 1714.

The forty-ſeventh article of the ſaid treaty of Vienna alſo grants to the ſubjects of his Imperial majeſty, all the privileges and advantages obtained by the Engliſh nation in 1667, 1670, 1713, and laſtly, by a certain treaty or convention, the date whereof is not ſpecified, with this additional clauſe, that in ſuch caſes as might ſeem doubtful, or not ſufficiently clear and explicit, thoſe treaties ſhould ſerve for a baſis and rule. Nor is it explained, whether the permiſſion of the ſubjects of his Imperial majeſty to enter into the ports, places, and harbours of your majeſty, be reſtricted ſolely to your majeſty's dominions in Europe, or whether it is not alſo permitted the ſaid ſubjects of his Imperial majeſty to enter in manner as aforeſaid, the ports and places of your majeſty's dominions in the Indies, notwithſtanding that this reſtriction is ſpecified in the treaties made with my maſters their High Mightineſſes, in terms the moſt expreſs imaginable.

It is therefore evident, that under this pretext, the ſubjects of his Imperial majeſty may pretend to advantages much ſuperior to thoſe which any other nation does enjoy, no perſon whatſoever being ſuffered under any manner of pretext, to enter your majeſty's ports and places in the Indies. And to demonſtrate that this has always been put in execution with extreme rigour on the part of Spain, it may ſuffice to relate, what happened to one of the ſhips of the Eaſt-India company of the United Provinces in 1687, who

who had taken on board two monks ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of China, and having carried them to the Philippine iſlands at their entreaty, notwithſtanding his voluntary humanity had carried him ſo far out of his courſe, was refuſed permiſſion to take in a ſupply of water, whereof he was in extreme want, and was, by an unexampled piece of inhumanity and ingratitude in the governor, ordered inſtantly to retire; an evident proof that they have never been permitted by Spain, to trade to, or enter any of her ports or cities in the Eaſt-Indies. From whence it follows, that the above article granted to ſhips carrying the Imperial flag, is manifeſtly contrary to the treaty of Munſter, as is alſo the thirty-eighth article of the ſaid treaty of Vienna, by which (beſides what has been already alledged above) your majeſty gives to the ſubjects of his Imperial majeſty, all that has been granted or yielded by the treaty of Munſter to the ſubjects of this Republic, as well with reſpect to the Indies as otherwiſe, which is moreover directly contrary to the ſixth article of the treaty of Munſter, wherein it is expreſly ſtipulated, that the Spaniards ſhould limit their navigation to the bounds to which it extended at the time of the treaty, as well in the Indies as elſewhere, which particular was confirmed by the treaty of Utrecht, concluded in the year 1714.

Theſe articles do therefore evidently prove, that no change ought to be made in that navigation on either ſide, whether by the ſubjects of either contracting party, or by thoſe of any other power,

power, not comprehended in the fifth article of the treaty of Munſter; and that eſpecially becauſe by the tenth article of the treaty of Utrecht it is declared, that the prerogatives with reſpect to the navigation and commerce of the Eaſt-Indies, comprehended in the above fifth article of the treaty of Munſter, ſhall only have place in what regards the two high contracting powers, that is to ſay, Spain and this Republic, and their ſubjects, and no others. And accordingly the genuine ſenſe and intention of theſe words do clearly appear from the report of the plenipotentiaries at the ſaid congreſs of Utrecht inſerted in the journal, which is among the acts of the negociations, where it is ſaid concerning the fifth and ſixth articles of the treaty of Munſter, that the intention of your majeſty's plenipotentiaries was, that the States General of the United Provinces, and their inhabitants, ought of right to enjoy the advantages ſtipulated by that treaty, but that other nations, and in particular the Hans towns, ought not to enjoy them; an undoubted proof that the excluſion, or non-admiſſion of other nations, to the enjoyment of what is ſettled by the fifth article with reſpect to the navigation and commerce to the Eaſt-Indies, was the ſole aim and intention of that treaty, And ſeeing thoſe ſtipulations were inſerted at the deſire of perſons inveſted with full powers by your majeſty, and were agreed to on the one part, as well as on the other; neither of the two contracting powers ought to transfer his right by a ſeparate treaty, or to permit any other nation to ſhare therein, without

without the conſent and concurrence of the other power, who is ſo principally concerned in the ſaid convention. And further, ſince the crown of Spain has ceded to the United Provinces, that part of the Indies which they now poſſeſs, obliging themſelves at the ſame time not to extend their trade or navigation on that ſide; that nation can have no power to give away to another power, what it had alienated by ſo ſolemn a treaty in favour of the Dutch.

Can it then be poſſible, Sir, that your majeſty's miniſters ſhould be guilty of ſo groſs a violation of thoſe articles, by beſtowing privileges on the Auſtrian Netherlands, which could never have been granted had that part of the Low Countries remained ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy. Nay, when the ſaid trade to the Indies was actually in the poſſeſſion of Spain, the ſubjects of that crown living in their dominions in the Low Countries, were excluded as much as all others then were from the navigation to the Eaſt-Indies; for it was by the treaty of Munſter, and by that alone, that the inhabitants of the United Provinces did obtain thoſe privileges they do now enjoy, with theſe reciprocal conditions, that the limits of the Indies being once determined, the two parties ſhould religiouſly abſtain from trading or navigating within each other's boundaries.

The conſequence whereof is, that the Dutch republic having engaged to refrain from navigating in the Spaniſh Indies at that very individual

point of time, did acquire the power and right of excluding all the ſubjects of Spain, and by conſequence the inhabitants of the Spaniſh Netherlands amongſt the reſt, from navigating within the limits of their own dominions in the Indies. And ſince his Imperial majeſty is confeſſedly allowed and known to have acquired the Spaniſh provinces in the Low Countries on condition his majeſty ſhould enjoy them in the ſame manner as the kings of Spain; it is evident, that in right of that ſucceſſion the emperor could not poſſibly acquire any rights which might be prejudicial to the Republic, or contrary to the treaties then actually ſubſiſting.

Further, your majeſty promiſes and engages in the thirty-firſt article of the treaty of Utrecht, not to ſuffer, under any pretext, and for what cauſe ſoever, any foreign nation to navigate to, or to trade in the Spaniſh Indies; but that, on the contrary, every thing ſhould remain on the ſame foundation as in the reign of Charles the ſecond, agreeable to the fundamental laws of Spain, which abſolutely inhibit all foreign nations from entering or trading to thoſe Indies, in which the States General had ſtipulated to maintain and ſupport your majeſty againſt all who ſhould have attempted the contrary. So that whether you conſider the ſubjects of the Auſtrian Netherlands. as the ancient ſubjects of the crown of Spain, or look upon them abſolutely as foreigners, nothing can juſtify or authorize the granting to them privileges in direct contradic-

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tion to the tenor of all the treaties which ſubſiſt between your majeſty and my maſters the States General.

All theſe conſiderations, Sir, may be reduced to four principal points. The firſt is, that your majeſty's permiſſion to the ſubjects of his Imperial majeſty to trade in the Indies, which is granted them in this treaty, is directly contrary to the intention and aim of the treaty of Munſter, as well as to that of Utrecht. The ſecond is, that the ſubjects of his ſaid majeſty are alſo ſuffered by the ſame treaty of commerce to enter into and frequent your majeſty's towns and ports in the Indies, under pretext of ſeeking refreſhments, &c. an indulgence always denied to the ſhips of the United Provinces, and which, for that reaſon, by the treaties now in force, ought not to have been granted to any other nation. In the third place, your majeſty, in authorizing and protecting any Eaſt-India company in any country formerly part of your dominions, acts in direct violation of thoſe treaties ſtill in force, wherein your majeſty engages to prohibit all nations, that of Spain only excepted, to trade to the Eaſt-Indies, and to ſupport the Republic in all their juſt rights in that reſpect. And laſtly, ſince it is notorious, that your majeſty and their High Mightineſſes, mutually and reciprocally, did engage and ſtipulate to aſſiſt each other, in hindering all other nations from trading in the Indies; it is therefore as certain and indiſputable, that neither of the two contracting powers could have any manner of power or title to alter, or recede from thoſe engagements,

gagements, without the conſent and participation of the other party concerned.

From theſe particulars, Sir, it is evident, that their High Mightineſſes my maſters, have undoubted grounds of complaint; and they are filled with aſtoniſhment to find that your majeſty's miniſters, without reflecting on the manifeſt inconſiſtency and oppoſition there is between the treaty of Vienna, and thoſe of Munſter and Utrecht, ſhould preſume to give away ſo many and ſo conſiderable advantages to the inhabitants of the Auſtrian Netherlands to the prejudice of their High Mightineſſes, and, if I may venture to ſay ſo, Sir, in prejudice of your majeſty, and of your people, who are by that treaty deprived of the advantages of their own commerce by that very company, which the Spaniſh nation ſo warmly eſpouſes and protects. I do therefore, at the deſire of their High Mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces, moſt earneſtly entreat that your majeſty will be pleaſed ſeriouſly, and with that regard which the importance of this affair calls for, to conſider and weigh the preſent remonſtrances, and to ponder how far theſe violations of ſuch ſolemn engagements may in time come to affect the peace and tranquillity of Europe.

Their High Mightineſſes do therefore flatter themſelves, and are perſuaded, that your majeſty will be pleaſed to cauſe the articles of the treaty of Vienna, which are contrary to thoſe of Munſter and Utrecht, to be reformed, and that your majeſty will alſo take care, that the company of

Oſtend

Oſtend do not in any wiſe navigate to, or in the Indies, to the end that their High Mightineſſes may have wherewithal to calm the minds of their people, who are alarmed at this treaty of Vienna, which they look upon as entirely ſubverſive of the unpoubted rights and prerogatives of their commerce, at the ſame time loudly calling for the ratifying and ſtrict execution of the treaties of Munſter and of Utrecht."

Theſe remonſtrances were far from having the intended effect. For notwithſtanding the apparent danger from this treaty to the trade of Spain, their Catholic majeſties were ſo ſanguine in their favourite project of recovering Gibraltar from Great Britain by the aſſiſtance of the emperor, that they continued deaf to all the reaſons, however evident, of the Dutch miniſter: and what was ſtill a greater motive, was the hopes of obtaining in marriage for Don Carlos, the queen of Spain's eldeſt ſon, the preſent king of the two Sicilies, the heireſs of the houſe of Auſtria, the preſent empreſs queen. So that nothing ſeemed difficult which had the appearance of contributing to this grand deſign, and they were ready to comply with every demand whatever of the Imperial court, and even by their diſpoſitions ſeemed ready to engage in a war with the powers concerned in the Hanover alliance. The emperor had greater cauſe for the inflexibility ſhewn on his part, as the treaty of Vienna was altogether advantageous to his intereſt, more eſpecially the eſtabliſhment of the

company of Oſtend, in ſupport whereof his honour and intereſt were equally concerned. For this cauſe he laboured to bring the northern crowns to ſupport his projects, and at firſt with abundance of ſucceſs; tho' the face of affairs was afterwards changed by meaſures which we are now going to enter upon.

The States General, whether it were they already began to feel the inconveniencies ariſing to their commerce from the new company, or that they deſpaired of ſucceſs in the way of remonſtrance, or whether it were, that they only had recourſe to thoſe means, to juſtify the reſolutions they had already come to of acceding to the treaty of Hanover, they at laſt did conſent to accede to it, in ſpite of all that the courts of Vienna and Madrid could do to prevent it; ſo that by this loſs they ſaw that there was an abſolute impoſſibility for them to proſecute their deſigns without coming immediately to an open rupture. The court of Spain reſolving to hazard all rather than yield, began hoſtilities againſt Great Britain. But the emperor being unable to comply with his engagements in ſupporting a war, if neceſſary, and that for want of ſupplies of money, which Spain at that juncture was not in a condition to afford, theſe proceedings had but ſmall conſequences. Theſe circumſtances, and the ſteadineſs of France in her engagements to proſecute the war with Spain, in conjunction with the maritime powers, made Spain apprehenſive for the iſſue, and to wiſh ſeriouſly for a peace, upon conditions which ſhe might with

with honour accept. The court of Vienna was very ſoon in the ſame diſpoſitions, not only becauſe ſhe ſaw that Spain began to liſten to the perſuaſions of her own intereſts, but becauſe ſhe wanted to elude the promiſes of an alliance which ſhe never much coveted, and alſo becauſe her returning to her old allies was not without it's advantages.

In this poſture were things, when the preliminaries of a treaty were ſet on foot, one article whereof was calculated ſolely for removing all matter of apprehenſion from ſuch eſtabliſhment for the future. Theſe preliminaries were ſigned and ratified at Paris on the twentieth of May, 1727, the firſt article whereof imported: "That his Imperial majeſty, having no other views than to contribute to the public tranquillity of Europe, and finding that the commerce of the company at Oſtend has given grounds of jealouſy and uneaſineſs, conſents that there ſhall be a ſuſpenſion of the charter of the company of Oſtend, and of all traffic whatſoever between the Auſtian Low Countries and the Indies during the term of ſeven years." By the fifth article of the ſame preliminaries it was agreed, that the ſhips which ſailed from Oſtend, previous to this convention, the names whereof to be given in a liſt on the part of his Imperial majeſty, ſhould be permitted to return home in ſafety, or in caſe any of them ſhould be taken, that they ſhould be reſtored, bona fide, together with their cargoes.

Thus was this company of Oſtend demoliſhed

by this ſuſpenſion, and the maritime powers obtained the end they aimed at. It is notwithſtanding true, that ſome ſales were afterwards made, and that with conſiderable advantage to the proprietors; they loſt however the power of trading any more to the Eaſt-Indies, which was the very eſſence of their eſtabliſhment. The emperor by conſequence was prevented from engaging Europe in a general war, and from becoming from ſo ſmall a beginning as the company of Oſtend, a very conſiderable maritime power. There cannot be a ſtronger and more ſatisfying proof of the importance of the commerce of the Indies, than to ſee almoſt all the princes of Europe ready to take arms for it, tho' they had ſcarce recovered of the wounds they had received in the laſt ſubject of contention which had ſo lately ſet Europe in a flame. There are not wanting writers who aſſert, that the company of Oſtend would not only, in all probabiltiy, have engroſſed the whole Eaſt-India trade to that port, but might even have drawn the greateſt part of all other branches of European traffic after it. The reaſons they adduce for this aſſertion are, firſt of all, the Auſtrian Low Countries are not only more fertile than the Dutch provinces, but alſo infinitely better ſituated for trade. Then their ſales of Eaſt-India commodites muſt have brought immenſe ſums of ready money into thoſe provinces, which of conſequence muſt have revived and reſtored thoſe manufactures which formerly flouriſhed here beyond any other parts of Europe, and thus by a certain

certain conſequence render them maſters of the trade to Germany, and by degrees of that of the reſt of the northern countries. In ſuch circumſtances what ſhould have hindered their attempting and acquiring the fiſheries, and by opening the ports of Trieſte and Fiume on the Adriatic, what could have prevented their engroſſing the Italian trade? If it be ſaid, that theſe are no more than ſuppoſitions; let it be remembered that it was theſe ſuppoſitions which determined the late emperor to eſtabliſh this company, in ſpite of all thoſe difficulties that lay in the way of that undertaking. And what was it beſides theſe very ſuppoſitions, which cauſed the Dutch to ſtruggle ſo hard againſt that eſtabliſhment? or would they ever have made ſuch efforts againſt a thing which they believed chimerical or impracticable? All which taken together, form an argument (ſay they) not to be overthrown, that the trade of the Eaſt-Indies is in itſelf the baſis of all commerce and maritime power, to ſuch nations at leaſt as know how to manage it, and have the power to manage it as they would, which was the point to be proved. It may ſeem ſtrange, that the emperor, or rather his ſubjects in the Netherlands, ſhould be able in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, and with no better port than that of Oſtend, to carry on at once ſuch an extenſive and lucrative commerce to the Indies, as alarmed and aſtoniſhed the maritime powers, above what France could do in a much longer time, and with the utmoſt advantages which the power of that opulent nation, under the direction

of the ableſt miniſters, could poſſibly give. But the wonder will ceaſe when we conſider, that the Auſtrian Low Countries are better ſituated for trade, and the people not only inclined to traffic, but alſo ſober, frugal, and induſtrious, their country rich and fertile, their towns great and populous, many of them ſtill have what all of them once enjoyed, that is, noble and flouriſhing manufactories; and tho' the Flemings had loſt much of their ancient freedom, as well as commerce, they did ſtill retain more of it than the French. It is eaſy to imagine, that trade might eaſily be revived in a country with ſo many natural advantages, and which for ages together had been the center of all the traffic of Europe.

The contentions of the ſeveral powers of Europe about the exiſtence of the company of Oſtend, cauſed people to pry into the nature of this trade, which ſo many nations looked upon as the ſource of wealth, commerce, and naval power. So many advantages made other potentates deſirous of ſettling an India commerce in their dominions, which the downfal of the Oſtend company did not at all abate. On the contrary, the ſurprizing progreſs which had attended the firſt ſucceſſes of that body, was a ſtrong inducement to ſet about ſo uſeful an undertaking; and there were numbers of perſons proper for putting ſuch a project into execution that had been formed in the ſervice of the Flemiſh company. Beſides, the treaties ſubſiſting between thoſe powers, who had eſtabliſhed or oppoſed the company of Oſtend,

Oſtend, did not extend to other princes, who had for that reaſon leſs cauſe to apprehend the ſame inconveniencies. Such were the conſiderations which moved the Danes and Swedes to ſet up thoſe eſtabliſhments, which form the ſubject of the enſuing ſections.

CHAP. IV.

The hiſtory of the Eaſt-India company of Denmark.

THE Danes have always been famous for their power at ſea, witneſs their deſcents in Naples, in France, and in England, under the appellation of Normans. Since the time of thoſe naval armaments, which were rather intended for foreign conqueſts than for eſtabliſhing trade, they have ever preſerved the ſame maritime ſpirit, and have made frequent attempts towards diſcoveries in the northern parts of the world, to eſtabliſh colonies, and carry on fiſheries, with a view of extending their commerce, the ſucceſs whereof ſeems to have been retarded more by the form of their conſtitution, than by any want of a mercantile diſpoſition in the people, or want of capacity in thoſe who were the contrivers of theſe ſalutary ſchemes. And they have ſtill retained ſo much of what they could not altogether engroſs, as will enable them to make as conſiderable a figure in mercantile affairs, as their anceſtors did by their military virtues, ſhould an opportunity ariſe from a happy change of their conſtitution, or from other cauſes.

The firſt attempt of the Daniſh nation towards an Eaſt-India trade, was very early in the laſt century, when a company was formed for that effect, under the protection of king Chriſtiern the fourth of that name. This eſtabliſhment was projected and fixed at Copenhagen about the year 1612. The capital conſiſted of two hundred and fifty actions or ſhares, each whereof was of the value of one thouſand rixdollars. About four years after the company was formed, four ſhips were equipped, and ſet ſail for the Indies. This firſt debarkment had met with ſo much ſucceſs, that they eſtabliſhed themſelves on the coaſt of Coromandel, nigh to the French ſettlement at Pondicherry. This Daniſh factory, which is called Tranquebar, ſtands fifteen miles north of Negapatan, and is a place of conſiderable traffic. The Danes have here a regular fort, of ſuch ſtrength as to be deemed one of the moſt impregnable places in all the Indies. The walls of it are faced with ſtone, and it is alſo ſurrounded with a ditch of great depth and wideneſs. The town, which is two miles in circumference, is alſo encloſed within a ſtrong wall faced with ſtone, and flanked with baſtions of a great ſize and at proper diſtances, which are well provided with cannon. The houſes of the Danes, and other Europeans, are abundantly commodious, tho' all on one floor, and are built of brick or ſtone; thoſe of the native Indians on the contrary are very poor cottages, with walls of clay, and thatched roofs, as are the houſes in moſt towns all over India. The ſtreets are ſtrait and wide,

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and at the ſides next the buildings they are paved with brick. The garriſon is by no means proportionable to ſo large a place, conſiſting of no more than one hundred and fifty Europeans, or thereabouts, and ſome Indians, on whom they can never rely, except only againſt ſuch troops as their own countrymen. As the Danes have long been ſettled on this ſpot, they have by the mildneſs of their government, and the prudence of thoſe they employ, drawn together a conſiderable number of Indians, who reliſh the ſweets of the liberty they enjoy under ſo gentle an adminiſtration; and what attaches them ſtill more than all other methods to their Daniſh maſters, is the converting them to the Lutheran religion, a work in which they have had extraordinary ſucceſs. Many of theſe converts have enriched themſelves in Tranquebar, ſo that this colony, which has for ſome time been very conſiderable, grows ſtill more ſo every day, inſomuch as to be able to ſupport itſelf in this flouriſhing condition, and, at the ſame time, to pay ten thouſand rix-dollars, by way of yearly tribute, to the Daniſh company.

The commerce of the Danes has been differently affected at different periods by the various revolutions that happened in the affairs of thoſe Indian ſtates with whom they have had connections, as alſo by thoſe accidents which have befallen their eſtabliſhment in Europe. The moſt flouriſhing period of the Daniſh commerce to the Eaſt-Indies ſeems to have been in the time of the civil wars of England, that is to ſay,

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about twenty-four years after their firſt eſtabliſhment, at which time it was by a certain writer compared to ours, and then poſſibly with a great deal of juſtice, our Eaſt-India company being then involved in great difficulties, as we took notice in it's place. Notwithſtanding, this commerce of Denmark was at that time rather profitable to the perſons employed in the ſervice, ſuch as the governor of Tranquebar and the principal merchants, than to the public, the company ſeldom ſending out ſupplies, and as ſeldom receiving cargoes of India commodities, ſo that their India eſtabliſhment ſubſiſted almoſt entirely by their commerce in Aſia, and particularly in the Chineſe empire, to which they traded with conſiderable advantage.

The Danes in India have been embroiled with the neighbouring ſtates from the very birth of their ſettlement; and they generally had no better an underſtanding with the other European factories, who envied an eſtabliſhment, which at the ſame time they affected to deſpiſe. And indeed the ſituation of the Daniſh fortreſs might ſeem ſufficient to ſhelter them from contempt, as it might prove of much greater conſequence in other hands, and with reſpect to it's ſituation for the diamond trade, it yields to none of the European factories whatſoever, if it is not preferable to all of them in reſpect of that precious commodity. The principal and moſt intereſting war which this company has ever been engaged in, broke out in the cloſe of the laſt century, which not only endangered their eſtabliſhment, but

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alſo plunged them into debt, and brought their affairs into the moſt calamitous condition they had ever been in heretofore. The ground of this rupture was as follows.

The Dutch, a nation devoted to commerce, which they ſtrive by any means to engroſs to their nation, ſought means to deſtroy this infant colony. Wherefore they uſed all their intereſt with the rajah of Tanjour, an Indian prince on the frontiers of whoſe territories the Daniſh ſettlement lay, to deſtroy and root them out, promiſing them a tun of gold for the fortreſs, how ſoon they ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of it. The Indian prince agreed to their propoſal, and undertook the buſineſs. He was eſteemed not only a man of great perſonal intrepidity, but alſo a good officer, who knew how to profit of every advantage. He accordingly ſet about it with a great deal of prudence, and with a power equal to the undertaking. His plan being ſettled, he collected the whole force of his dominions, and inveſted Tranquebar without delay. As there was no cauſe to endanger the lives of his people, he opened the trenches above a mile from the place, and the ſiege was carried on by two ſeveral attacks. The earth, which was of a dry ſand, was not over favourable to their approaches. This inconvenience was remedied by ſupporting the earth whereof the trenches were compoſed, with cocoa-trees driven into the ground, both on the inſide and outſide of the works, and the ſpace between was filled up with the ſoil, ſo that the trenches, which looked like the wall of ſome

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ſtrong city both for height and thickneſs, ſheltered them excellently from the fire of the beſieged. Their works were now in the ſpace of five months brought within piſtol ſhot of the place, having employed incredible labour and patience, and beſides thirty thouſand men, in that buſineſs. They had alſo almoſt entirely ruined one of the baſtions with their cannon, and the Danes, who expected a general aſſault from the beſiegers, were already preparing to move their effects into the citadel, and to abandon the town. The garriſon conſiſted of no more than two hundred Europeans, an equal number of Indian Portugueſe, and about a thouſand blacks, a very inconſiderable number for the defence of a place which was above a mile and a half in circumference, without reckoning the fortreſs. Thus they were in no condition to annoy the beſiegers much in their approaches, wherefore they they contented themſelves with plying their artillery and ſmall arms to prevent the enemy from ſcaling the walls, and in planting the tops of the ramparts with palliſadoes.

Things were in this poſture, and the Danes had but ſmall hopes of defending themſelves, when the ſuccours ſent by the humanity of Mr. Pit the Engliſh governor of Fort St. George came to their relief. This unexpected aſſiſtance revived their drooping ſpirits, and two days afterwards a ſally was made. Early in the morning, about ſunriſe, a detachment of blacks marched from a baſtion, ſupported by a body of Engliſh. The firſt, as ſoon as they were out at the gates, opened

opened to the right and left for the Engliſh, who were to aſſault the works. At the ſame time a body of the beſiegers marched from the trenches to oppoſe them, advancing in good order, and determined to engage ſword in hand, in the plain which lay between the walls of the place and the beſiegers works. They were all armed with broad ſwords and ſhields, and clothed in white veſts and turbans, ſo as to make at the ſame time a gallant and dreadful appearance; nor did they diſcharge one arrow or fire a ſingle piece all the time they kept moving on. The Engliſh officers could not help being in pain for the event, at ſeeing ſo much good order and conduct in an enemy from whom they expected ſo little of either, eſpecially when they reflected that their own troops were generally new levies, and beſides intermixed with Portugueze on whom they had very little reliance. They were already pretty near, when the artillery began to play from the walls. The execution it had, put the Indian troops immediately into confuſion, and they fled to their trenches, and the Engliſh purſuing them drove likewiſe from their works, ſo that if the intolerable heat of the day had not obliged them to retire without compleating the advantages they had acquired, they might have ruined all the works which the Indian army had been raiſing with incredible labour in ſo long a time. But as this ſucceſs was more than they had looked for, they had made no preparations for ſuch an enterprize as the razing the trenches, and ſo both parties retired, the Engliſh to the place, and the Indians

Indians to their trenches, without any conſiderable loſs on either ſide.

A few days after a general ſally was reſolved upon, in conſequence whereof the greateſt part of the garriſon marched out through the great gate, which faced the enemy's principal attack, the blacks retiring as uſual under the walls, to make room for the Europeans. The enemy drew up a conſiderable body of muſqueteers and pikemen, on that ſpace that ſtood betwen the two attacks, at the ſame time keeping a conſtant fire from their trenches. The Engliſh marched againſt the body that was drawn up in the open field. Tho' they loſt their commander in their firſt advances, they ſtill kept on towards the enemy, and drove them from their poſt, but thro' too much eagerneſs, and expecting to have been ſupported by the Danes, they purſued their victory ſo far, that they were intercepted by a body of Mooriſh cavalry. The Engliſh finding their retreat cut off by way of the plain, threw themſelves into the trenches, driving the enemy quite to that end of them, which was neareſt to the town, where they were again intercepted by the Mooriſh horſe. Theſe they repulſed a ſecond time, by a general fire which did prodigious execution, and thus gallantly fighting, they opened themſelves a paſſage to the town thro' ſo many obſtacles and dangers, and with the loſs of one half their number killed or wounded in this bold enterprize. One ſoldier received no fewer than fourteen wounds in this action, and was brought alive to Tranquebar, where he afterwards recovered.

covered. And thus the Daniſh company owed the preſervation of their chief ſettlement in India to the humanity and courage of the natives of Great Britain: for the rajah of Tanjour became ſoon afterwards weary of the ſiege of a city which he ſaw defended by ſuch uncommon valour, and finding that the war had no other conſequences, beſides the loſs of his ſubjects, retired into his own country, leaving the Danes in full poſſeſſion of their traffic as before.

The Daniſh company have ever ſince enjoyed the advantages of their Indian commerce without let or moleſtation. Beſides Tranquebar, and the fortreſs of Danebourg, a regular citadel with four ſtrong baſtions, they have alſo a ſmall territory which depends on the former, and whereof the inhabitants are their ſubjects. Theſe conſiſt of Moors and Indians, whoſe children are educated in a public ſchool endowed for that purpoſe, where the ſciences and all other parts of uſeful learning are taught them. The Daniſh miſſionaries alſo employ themſelves in preaching to the natives in the Malabar tongue, which they are perfect maſters of, and that with ſufficient ſucceſs, making many converts to chriſtianity. The Danes have formerly built very good ſhips here, which they employ partly in their own commerce and partly let out on freight, and this was one conſiderable advantage to their colony. Their neighbours of the other European ſettlements in the Indies have inſinuated a particular of the moſt ſhocking nature imaginable, and that is, that they had given leave to their ſhips to cruiſe

cruiſe upon chriſtians and pagans indiſcriminately, an accuſation of ſo black a nature, as muſt incline every candid perſon to ſuſpect the truth of it, without the moſt convincing and undeniable proofs. And more eſpecially as it is certain, that thoſe who have given riſe to this report, were intereſted in it's being believed. In ſhort, they have all along received extremely groſs ill uſage from all the other European factories, ſo that their being in debt is no longer a miracle; we ought rather to wonder how ſo ſmall a colony have been able to preſerve and maintain themſelves againſt ſo many enemies, on every quarter.

It is now time to return to the proceedings in Denmark with reſpect to this company. Joſhua Van Aſperen, a merchant of the Low Countries, who had been concerned in the Flemiſh Eaſt-India company, ſeeing that ſociety at an end, as has been already related, ſet out for Copenhagen in hopes of engaging Frederick the fourth, king of Denmark, a prince of extraordinary virtues, in his ſchemes, which was to augment the capital of the Eaſt-India company of that nation, and for that purpoſe to open a new ſubſcription. He repreſented to the king, that almoſt univerſal eagerneſs amongſt all nations to acquire a ſhare in the Eaſt-India trade; that it was an eaſy matter to engage the moſt expert perſons in that ſervice, ſo many having been reduced by the fall of the company of Oſtend, the cauſes whereof were peculiar to thoſe provinces, and could not particularly affect Denmark in the remoteſt manner,

ner, which had already been in poſſeſſion of an Eaſt-India trade for more than a century; the vaſt profits and ſucceſs of the Oſtend company for the time it was permitted to ſubſiſt; and laſtly, he endeavoured to convince the king, that nothing was wanting to render the Indian commerce of the Danes equal to that of England, or of Holland, but the augmentation of their capital, which was what he did humbly propoſe to his majeſty.

The king yielded to the power of ſo many and ſo flattering arguments; ſubſcriptions were opened upon terms more advantageous than formerly, and the ſeat of the company transferred from Copenhagen to Altena, a town belonging to Denmark in the neighbourhood of Hamburgh ſo famous for its univerſal traffic; and laſtly, in order to induce foreigners to concern themſelves in this undertaking, a new charter was granted the company dated in April 1728, for promoting their commerce to China, Bengal, and the Indies, the principal articles of which were as follows.

The new ſubſcribers ſhall be entitled to an equal ſhare and right with the old members, in all conceſſions, octroys, and privileges, granted to the ſaid company by his preſent majeſty, or his auguſt predeceſſors; as alſo in all the forts, ſettlements, revenues, houſes, magazines, ſhips, effects, and in general, in whatever the company ſtands poſſeſſed of at this preſent, or may acquire in time to come.

The old actions, in number two hundred and fifty, and of one thouſand rixdollars each in value, ſhall remain as they now are, with the ſame rights and profits as the new.

The directors ſhall declare and affirm, upon their honour, that all the debts of the company do not exceed one hundred and ſixty thouſand rixdollars in ſpecie.

The united company ſhall oblige themſelves to pay and diſcharge the ſaid ſum of one hundred and ſixty thouſand rixdollars, upon condition that the old ſhares ſhall have no dividends until the year 1733.

That if the debts of the company ſhall appear to exceed the ſum above ſpecified, the old ſhares ſhall be anſwerable for the overplus, and the new ſubſcribers ſhall not be in any manner engaged for the payment of ſuch exceſs.

Each action, or ſhare, in the new ſubſcription ſhall be of the value of one thouſand rixdollars banco, or in ſpecie, whereof twenty per cent. ſhall be paid upon the account of Mr. Alexander Bruguier banker at Hamburgh, or in the manner preſcribed in the project publiſhed by the company at Copenhagen, December the 16th, 1727.

Should there be occaſion to make a further call in the courſe of the preſent year 1727, the ſame ſhall not exceed five, or ten per cent. at the fartheſt.

What remains unpaid of the ſubſcription ſhall not be called for without an act of a general court of the company, for that purpoſe.

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If the entire ſum of one thouſand rixdollars, that is to ſay, the full price of the new actions, ſhould not be paid up within the year 1738, in that caſe the proprietors of the ancient actions ſhall be entitled to an intereſt of five per cent. for the ſums they may have paid, over and above what has been paid by the new ſubſcribers.

There are to be no other actions, except ſhares of one thouſand rixdollars, and half ſhares of five hundred rixdollars each.

Every ſubſcriber ſhall be allowed to take ſhares for the bearer, ſigned by the company, and which, if they ſo chooſe, may be alſo regiſtered in the company's books.

The expence of each transfer to be two rixdollars to the company, and half a rixdollar to the poor.

The creditors of the company may take ſhares for their reſpective debts, provided they diſcount thirty per cent. for the preſent year, for each ſhare, and twenty-five per cent for that next enſuing, on the ſums due to them: which ſhares ſhall entitle them to the ſame dividends with other actions of the new ſubſcription.

The ſhares or actions of the company ſhall not be liable to any ſeizure or ſtoppage, upon any account whatſoever, as is ſet forth in his majeſty's octroy.

The directors ſhall tranſmit yearly to the proprietors, an exact and particular account of the affairs of the company, and the dividends ſhall be regulated by ſuch account, in a general court, by the majority of voices.

The directors ſhall not carry on any ſort of

traffic, excepting that to the Eaſt-Indies only, on account of the company, without the conſent of the proprietors; nor ſhall be permitted to lend the company's monies to any perſon whatſoever, and ſhall be anſwerable, in their own perſons and eſtates, for all the monies of the company in ſolido. They ſhall take an oath for the exact obſervance of this article, and for the faithful diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in them for the intereſt and advantage of their conſtituents.

All merchandizes which ſhall be ſold in any other place beſides Copenhagen, ſhall be paid for in bank at Hamburgh, to one or more ſubſtantial traders, for the company's account, which merchants ſhall be choſen in a general court, by the majority of voices, and in no other manner whatſoever.

The ſaid merchants, who are the caſhiers of the company, ſhall pay no monies, without an order ſigned by three of the directors at leaſt.

Such monies as ſhall be payable in the courſe of the running year, ſhall be in the diſpoſal and management of the preſent directors, till ſuch time as the new directors to be added to their number are choſen.

The monies ariſing from the new ſubſcriptions, ſhall be expended in ſending out ſhips to China, Bengal, and Tranquebar, and to no other intent or purpoſe whatſoever: and no more money ſhall be kept in caſh, beſides what is abſolutely neceſſary for ſuch equipments as above.

A general court of the proprietors ſhall aſſemble with all convenient ſpeed, to proceed in the choice

choice of four additional directors, out of the number of the new ſubſcribers, which additional directors may be all of them foreigners."

This new company cauſed a general alarm in the Seven Provinces, the Dutch looking upon all their labour in deſtroying the company of Oſtend as abſolutely loſt, ſince they ſaw a new eſtabliſhment riſe out of it's aſhes, every way as prejudical to their intereſt as that which had given them ſuch cauſe of apprehenſion. All manner of artifice was employed to deſtroy the credit of the Daniſh company at Amſterdam, Rotterdam, and in all the great cities of the United Provinces. A proceſs was raiſed againſt Van Aſperen, the promoter of it, and he was condemned and executed in effigy. Amongſt many ſtratagems employed to diſcredit the Daniſh eſtabliſhment, the following was one. Van Aſperen had wrote in very preſſing terms to his friends, whether in Holland, or in Great Britain, to induce them to ſubſcribe in the ſtocks of the new company at Altena. The Dutch cauſed anſwers to be framed to theſe ſollicitations, which were publiſhed in all the Engliſh and Dutch news-papers, in which the pretended correſpondents of Van Aſperen inſinuated, that the old Eaſt-India company of Denmark was actually become bankrupt, and that there was very far from being any ſolid ſecurity in confiding to them in matters of ſuch conſequence. They objected, the arbitrarineſs of the government of Denmark, where every thing is expoſed to the rapine of the prince, or his miniſters, to which they oppoſed the great

ſecurity there is in entruſting ſums of money in the funds of free governments, where property of every ſort is ſecured by the eſtabliſhed and fundamental laws of the land. They are of opinion, that the word and honour of two directors is but a ſlender ſecurity for the debts of the old company, one of whom from a bankrupt for upwards of ſix millions of florins, for which he had been purſued thro' ſeveral countries, was now raiſed to the firſt honours. Will any man, ſaid they, riſk his monies, to make a job for ſuch a perſon? They took notice, that the company were oppreſſed with debts in the Indies, and particularly in the bay of Bengal, for a ſhip they had formerly ſeized with her cargo on her voyage to Surat, for which action they had been driven from Tranquebar by the Moors, where they had never appeared ſince. That before they can ever hope to be permitted to trade in that port, this debt, which ſeven years ago amounted to three hundred rixdollars, with accumulated intereſt at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum, as is the cuſtom of the country, muſt firſt be paid off, the truth of which fact, ſay the writers of theſe pretended anſwers, is atteſted by ſeveral perſons, both here and in England, who were actually upon the ſpot when this affair paſſed. That let the profits of this trade be ever ſo great, they can never hold any proportion to that infinity of hazards that thoſe concerned muſt neceſſarily run. Thus, ſay they, addreſſing themſelves to Van Aſperen, we have given you the opinion of all we have converſed with

with upon this point, which is alſo exactly agreeable to our own ſentiments, and cannot help adviſing a perſon, whom we ſtill conſider as our ancient friend, to think of a timely retreat, and to endeavour to obtain a pardon for the injuries done your native country, in open defiance of the laws. For nothing can be more evident, that this new ſcheme of ſtock-jobbing is contrived with no other view than to draw all the ready money of Europe into Denmark at all events, and that as the principal and profits muſt of neceſſity belong to foreigners, we leave yourſelf to judge what ſecurity there can be for the obſervance of the public faith when there is occaſion for theſe monies at home. The memory of what paſſed in the affair of the Miſſiſippi, ſhould ſerve as an example of what merchants may expect from a government like that of Denmark on a like occaſion.

Theſe objections had no manner of effect upon the ſubſcriptions of this company, which went on with great ſpirit, whatever was publiſhed in England, France, or Holland to their diſadvantage. The maritime powers were therefore reduced to their dernier reſſort, which was to uſe all their joint influence with his Daniſh majeſty to deprive them of their ſole ſupport, that is to ſay, their charter. Orders were therefore inſtantly ſent to the miniſters of Great Britain and Holland, at the court of Denmark, to uſe their utmoſt induſtry to procure a repeal of the powers granted to this company, in conſequence whereof thoſe miniſters repreſented to the king,

that his majeſty of Great Britain, and their High Mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces, foreſeeing the prejudice which the tranſferring the Eaſt-India company from Copenhagen to Altena, will do to the commerce of their people; and perceiving with concern, that almoſt at the very inſtant that they are making ſo great efforts to ſtop the progreſs of the company of Oſtend, the king of Denmark, their good friend, and ancient ally, is ſetting up another equally prejudicial to their ſubjects, have ordered them to make this moſt humble repreſentation to his majeſty of Denmark, hoping from his friendſhip, that, as ſoon as he ſhall be informed of the uneaſineſs this novelty gives them, he will withdraw the privileges lately granted to that company, and leave it on the ancient foot as it has always ſubſiſted at Copenhagen.

This repreſentation was not at all reliſhed by the king, or by his council. Their anſwer was, that it never was the king's intention to erect a new company, or to transfer that which had now ſubſiſted above a hundred and ten years at Copenhagen to Altena. That this was evident from the very project of incorporation, in which no new or additional powers had been granted to the company, but the old ones ſimply confirmed. That thoſe voyages which were now propoſed for China, were no more contrary to treaties, than thoſe formerly made by the company's ſhips from Tranquebar. And further, that his Daniſh majeſty was not reſtrained by any treaty whatever from ſupporting the traffic of his ſubjects

jects to the Indies, whether from their ſettlements in that part of the world, or from Copenhagen directly. That it was not only his undoubted right by the laws of nature and of nations, to promote the welfare of his ſubjects, and to extend their commerce by all the means in his power, but that it was alſo his duty as their protector and ſovereign. That finally it was far from being his intention to do the ſmalleſt prejudice to the Eaſt-India companies of England and Holland, but that what he now did was ſolely with a view to promote the happineſs of his own ſubjects, a proceeding which he was confident never could expoſe him to the reſentment of any power whatſoever.

The maritime powers were far from being ſatisfied with this anſwer, how juſt and judicious ſoever; therefore freſh repreſentations were made by the miniſters of thoſe powers in the year 1728, ſince which time no farther applications have been made on that ſubject, and the Daniſh company have been allowed to purſue their Eaſt-India trade, according to the tenor of their charter. The maritime powers were obliged to be contented with diſcharging their ſubjects from being concerned in that ſociety, which conſiderably reduced the number of their ſubſcribers, ſo that they have not been able to reach that height of proſperity which the ſcheme of Van Aſperen had at firſt promiſed. They were not however incapacitated from extending their commerce, or from carrying on a trade directly from Copenhagen to the Indies and China. By this new eſtabliſhment, and the protection

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tection of Chriſtian the ſixth, their affairs are in ſo promiſing a ſituation, that there no longer remains any doubt of their being able to proſecute that traffic with ſtill greater advantages, both to the proprietors and to the Daniſh nation in general. Their funds are now conſiderable, their credit extenſive, their warehouſes, magazines, yards, and docks at Copenhagen in the compleateſt order, and their ſales both large and frequent. They are ſaid to ſend two or three ſhips annually to the Indies, and to receive as many in return, all of them loaded with rich cargoes. There is therefore great reaſon to believe, that the affairs of this company are in a proſperous and growing condition, and that they will ſoon make a conſiderable figure in the Eaſt-India trade.

CHAP. V.

The hiſtory of the Swediſh Eaſt-India company.

THE firſt attempt of the Swediſh nation towards the trade to the Eaſt-Indies, was in the reign of the great Guſtavus Adolfus. This prince, who was the glory of his age and country, and whoſe ruling paſſion (which ought to be that of every king) was the happineſs of his people, formed the project of an Eaſt-India company, by letters patent under his great ſeal, dated at Stockholm the 14th of June, 1626, to which he invited his ſubjects. The war of Germany prevented this ſcheme from being carried in to execution, which ſeems to have died with

with that great perſonage who was the author of it.

Altho' Chriſtina his daughter, a princeſs of a great and exalted mind, ſhewed the ſame inclination to promote the trade, and conſequently the naval power of Sweden, and actually ſettled a colony in the Weſt-Indies, there was however very few attempts made by the Swedes with regard to commerce, till about twenty-five years ago, the wars in which that nation had been always engaged during this period, having probably drawn their attention from commerce, which can only flouriſh in peaceable times.

All Europe was therefore amazed at the news of a Swediſh Eaſt-India company, the riſe of which was owing to the ruin of that of Oſtend. Henry Koning, a wealthy merchant, and a perſon perfectly well ſkilled in every thing relating to the Eaſt-India trade, was the author of this project. He repreſented to the Swediſh miniſtry, that there were yet a great many places in Africa and the Indies unſettled, or rather altogether unknown to the other nations of Europe, who had conſtantly followed each other in the beaten tract, without daring to deviate from thoſe who had gone before them. He alſo took notice of the opportunity which this conjuncture of the diſſolution of the Oſtend ſociety preſented, the great number of perſons out of employ by that event, who were the moſt proper of all others to ſet ſuch a project in motion; and in general every

every thing which Van Aſperen had repreſented, to engage the Danes to come into his ſchemes.

The propoſals of Koning were liſtened to, and he was empowered to aſſociate ſuch perſons with himſelf as ſhould be willing to promote the affair, by a charter dated June the 14th, 1731, with theſe privileges, viz.

The king grants leave to Henry Koning, and his aſſociates, to navigate and trade to the Eaſt-Indies for the ſpace of fifteen years, in all places from the Cape of Good Hope, as far as the iſlands of Japon, excepting that they are not to trade in any port belonging to any prince or ſtate in Europe, without their previous conſent. All ſhips trading to the Indies from Sweden, ſhall take in their cargoes at Copenhagen, to which port they ſhall alſo return with the cargoes loaden on board in the Indies, which cargoes ſhall alſo be ſold at Copenhagen as ſoon as conveniently may be. The ſaid Henry Koning, and his aſſociates, ſhall pay to the crown of Sweden, one hundred dollars per laſt, for each ſhip by them employed or freighted, within ſix months after the return of ſuch ſhips from the Indies, and two dollars per laſt for the town duties. The company may equip and arm as many veſſels as they ſhall ſee fit, provided ſuch ſhips or veſſels are built in Sweden, and alſo provided whatever is neceſſary for ſuch equipment be bought in that kingdom. If ſuch ſhips or neceſſaries cannot be had in Sweden, in that caſe the company may provide themſelves elſewhere, on condition that the preference

preference be always given to ſhips of the built of Sweden, as alſo to it's produce and manufactures. Such ſhips ſhall carry the flag of Sweden, and be provided with paſſports from the king, as alſo from the republic of Algiers. The company have leave to raiſe any ſums or monies, whether by ſubſcription or otherwiſe, and ſubſcribers ſhall pay in their quotas within the time preſcribed, otherwiſe to forfeit the ſums ſo ſubſcribed for. They may alſo tranſport what ordnance or ſmall arms they ſhall ſee proper, as alſo ſilver coined and uncoined, Swediſh money excepted; they may alſo import from the Indies all ſorts of goods whatſoever without exception, nor ſhall their ſhips be liable to be ſtopped upon any pretence or grounds whatſoever, or hindered at their return from entering into the ports of their deſtination. The company may alſo tranſport their goods and merchandize from place to place within Sweden, without payment of further duties, beſides the preceding, they being always in ſuch caſes provided with proper paſſports. Captains of the company's ſhips ſhall have the ſame powers for the maintaining of diſcipline, as captains of the king's ſhips, and in matters of trade they ſhall pay abſolute obedience to the inſtructions of the company, provided ſuch inſtructions contain nothing contrary to the tenor of this charter. Seamen and ſoldiers entered on board the company's ſhips, may not be impreſſed into the king's, or any other ſervice, nor ſhall the company admit into their ſervice any who ſhall have deſerted from the ſervice of the

crown. Such deſerters from the company's ſhips may be apprehended and detained, according to the uſual forms of law, by the proper officers. The merchandize landed from the ſhips of the company returning from the Indies, ſhall be duty free, excepting a ſmall acknowledgement at their removal. The company ſhall conſtantly chooſe out of their number three directors at the leaſt, all of them perſons of known probity and diſtinguiſhed abilites, and of which three Henry Koning ſhall be one. In caſe of his demiſe, the company ſhall proceed to chooſe another in his ſtead, provided that ſuch directors are natives of Sweden, or naturalized Swedes, and proteſtants reſiding within the king's dominions, unleſs neceſſarily abſent on the affairs of the company, in which caſe, the proprietors may ſubſtitute another in his place. The ſaid ſociety may make ſuch regulations and by-laws, for the advancement or management of their concerns, as they ſhall ſee proper, provided that ſuch regulations are not contrary to this charter. The directors ſhall give a true and particular account to the proprietors of the capital profits or loſſes of the company, but ſhall not be obliged to diſcover the names of the ſubſcribers, or the ſums ſubſcribed for, nor to produce, or ſuffer their books to be inſpected on any pretence whatſoever. Directors who betray the ſecrets of the company's affairs, or who are guilty of any fraud or miſdemeanor, upon complaint made, and proof thereof before the board of trade, may be ſuſpended from their office, or degraded, and another choſen

choſen in his room. The proprietors finding any breach of truſt, fraud, or miſdemeanour, in the ſaid Henry Koning, and the other directors, may obtain redreſs upon the ſame application. The company may employ any number of ſupercargoes, officers, mariners, or ſoldiers, whether Swedes or foreigners, and perſons ſo employed ſhall enjoy the ſame privileges as if natives of Sweden. Monies employed in the ſtock of this company, whether belonging to Swedes or foreigners, ſhall not be liable to arreſt, ſtoppage, or ſeizure on any pretence, Perſons concerned, or employed in the company, ſhall be naturalized, and preſerve their reſpective ranks and qualities, upon application made to the king for that effect. The company, and ſuch as are by them authorized and employed, if moleſted or diſturbed in their commerce, by any perſons, and in any part of the world whatever, ſhall have full power from his majeſty to obtain ample juſtice and ſatisfaction by all convenient methods, and ſhall be free to employ open force, and to treat ſuch diſturbers as pirates and enemies to the public peace. Theſe powers ſhall be granted by his majeſty, eſpecially in the commiſſions given to captains, and if notwithſtanding they are ſtill attacked, his majeſty will grant them his high protection, and endeavour to procure ſpeedy and ample ſatisfaction, whether by way of repriſal, or otherwiſe. The other ſubjects of Sweden may not interfere in this commerce, under pain of his majeſty's high diſpleaſure, and confiſcation of the veſſels and effects ſo employed. The king engages

gages his royal promiſe to alter or augment theſe privileges, upon application of the company, as often, and in ſuch a manner as ſhall be found neceſſary to promote the advantage of the company in their Eaſt-India commerce. The above charter was granted by the king in the ſenate, and has been admired and applauded as one of the compleateſt and beſt contrived pieces of it's kind. Their powers are augmented to a very great degree in what regards their foreign commerce, at the ſame time that the ſuperior authority of the college of commerce reſtrains their domeſtic authority within proper bounds. So many privileges, joined to the ſecurity which property receives from the nature of the Swediſh government, raiſed infinite expectations, which were ſtill heightened by their being unmoleſted by the other powers of Europe, who were the leſs alarmed at a ſociety which was reſtricted from interfering with their commerce by the very charter upon which it was founded. Nor was it a ſmall argument of the prudence of the managers, that they went on with very ſlow ſteps in their firſt ſetting out, being a conſiderable time in compleating their ſubſcriptions, and in fitting out ſhips for the Indies, all which ſerved to amuſe the other powers of Europe, and to lighten their apprehenſions of a ſcheme that was carried on with ſo little ſpirit. Amidſt all this ſeeming inactivity, Koning and his aſſociates were preparing every thing that might be wanted to carry on their deſign with ſucceſs. Two large and ſtrong ſhips were fitted out, equally fit for trade or action. Theſe were the

the Frederic, ſo called after the king, and the Ulrica, ſo named from the queen. Nor were they leſs circumſpect in the choice of perſons who were to be entruſted with the firſt concerns, which are always the moſt important, of the new company.

They were particularly careful to put aboard of them ſupercargoes of the greateſt integrity and abilities, and who were perfectly well verſed in the buſineſs in which they were to be employed. The ſame caution was obſerved in the choice of officers and mariners. And the compleatneſs of their ſhips, and the excellent order in every thing aboard them, amply made up for the two years employed in theſe preparations. So that it has been ſaid with a great deal of juſtice, that no company has ever excelled that of the Eaſt-India company of Sweden, either in the prudence and wiſdom of it's firſt eſtabliſhment, or in the management of their affairs ever ſince.

Their firſt attempts, tho' not extremely lucrative, were however indifferently ſucceſsful. A factory was ſettled on the river of Canton in China, with the conſent of the natives, who appear perfectly well ſatisfied with the new adventurers, and are very ready in granting them whatever may be of uſe to favour or promote their traffic. They met however with ſome difficulties at home. The great number of foreigners they were of neceſſity obliged to employ in their ſervice at firſt, occaſioned a prodigious clamour amongſt the Swedes, a nation naturally exceeding jealous of ſtrangers. This uproar was

quelled by an act, which ordained, that for the future, two thirds of the mariners employed in the ſervice of the Swediſh company, ſhould be native Swedes. This complaint was followed by another, ſome time after, which is far from being peculiar to the Swedes, againſt the trade to the Eaſt-Indies. Notwithſtanding the regularity and value of the returns from India, and the quantity of money brought into Sweden by the ſale of Eaſt-India commodities, the Swedes, accuſtomed to receive a balance in money from every nation with whom they have dealings, could not bear the thoughts of that prodigious quantity of ſilver which it was neceſſary to export, in order to carry on their Eaſt-India traffic. This occaſioned a report, which has however had no conſequences, as if the privileges of the company were to have been ſuffered to expire in a ſhort time, a thought than which nothing can be imagined more extravagant, this company carrying on a very profitable and extenſive trade all over the North, by means of their Eaſt-India commodities. 'Tis certain however, that the company omitted nothing in their power to ward off this blow, and to procure the renewal of their charter for fifteen years more, alledging as reaſons for their obtaining their requeſt, the jealouſy of all the other powers of Europe with reſpect to this commerce, beſides that with regard to their own company, few or none of their returns have ever been diſpoſed of in Sweden, and that what is gained to the proprietors muſt infallibly be gained to the nation,

the

the caſh whereof is increaſed in proportion to the emoluments of this company.

Thus I have at laſt come to the end of this eſſay, in which I have endeavoured to lay before the reader, all I could find worthy his notice with reſpect to the Eaſt-India trade, as it is at this day carried on by the ſeveral nations of Europe. I am ſenſible of it's defects in point of language, and perhaps in other very eſſential particulars, for all which I have no excuſe to offer but what is itſelf a very great fault, the ſhortneſs of the time employed in it, (and I might add that of ſeveral embaraſſments which the author is only intereſted to know), beſides the deſire I had to have done better.

FINIS.